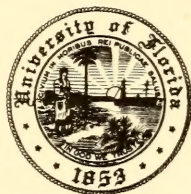




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FOUR POLITICAL TREATISES

FOUR POLITICAL TREATIES



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FOUR POLITICAL TREATISES

The Doctrinal of Princes (1533)

Pasquil the Playne (1533)

The Banquette of Sapience (1534)

The Image of Governance (1541)

BY

SIR THOMAS ELYOT

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

LILLIAN GOTTESMAN

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

SCHOLARS' FACSIMILES & REPRINTS

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INTRODUCTION

Sir Thomas Elyot (1490?-1546), humanist, educator, and diplomat of the English Renaissance, recorded his educational and political theories in several treatises. Of about a dozen known works, four are now available in recently printed books. The *Boke Named the Governour* (1531), Elyot's first and major contribution, was edited in 1880 by H. H. S. Croft; in 1834 by A. T. Eliot; in 1907 by Foster Watson and reprinted in 1937; and in 1962 by S. E. Lehmberg. The *Governour* holds the distinction as the first educational treatise in the English language. It is also the best known of Elyot's works. *Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man* (1533) was edited in 1946 by E. J. Howard. The *Castel of Helth* (1539) was edited in 1937 by S. A. Tannenbaum. The *Defence of Good Women* (1540) was edited in 1941 by E. J. Howard; it is included also in Watson's *Vives and the Renascence Education of Women* (1912). The other treatises are obtainable on microfilm copies of their sixteenth-century printings.

The purpose of this volume is to re-introduce four political treatises which have not been reprinted since the sixteenth century. Each text is a facsimile of a renaissance edition prepared by Thomas Berthelet. Included in this collection are *The Doctrinal of Princes* (ca. 1533), *Pasquil the Playne* (1533), *The Bankette of Sapience* (ca. 1534), and *The Image of Governance* (1541). These writings

share a concern with the qualifications and conduct of those who rule and those who advise the rulers. They discuss not a detailed classical course of study as does the *Governour*, but rather the utilization of such study in practical service to the state. Elyot, like Plato, defined virtue as knowledge; since knowledge could be instilled, the primary function of Elyot's educational plan was to prepare thoroughly educated, virtuous governors. It is no wonder that education and politics were closely associated in Elyot's mind. He supported monarchy as the only sound government and, in keeping with renaissance thinking, saw the role of the king in his country as comparable to that of God in the universe. He served as clerk of the King's Council for several years prior to 1530 and after the publication of the *Governour*, which he dedicated to Henry VIII, served as ambassador to Emperor Charles V from 1531 to 1532. These were politically troublesome years. Elyot's mission to Charles was to win support for Henry's divorce plans, but Elyot was unsuccessful. Although he was given no important government position after 1532, Elyot wished to continue to serve Henry VIII and the "publike weale" at least with his pen.

Elyot recognized an opportunity in translating an oration delivered by Isocrates to Nicocles in about 400 B.C. when the latter became King of Salamis. He called the translation *Doctrinal of Princes*. The work is a monologue in which the speaker Isocrates enumerates desirable attributes of a king. For example, the king must be wise, virtuous, dignified, courteous, and valiant; he must care for all his people and pass just laws; he must beware of fools and

flatterers at his court and accept criticism graciously; he must have knowledge of poets and philosophers. A model king was the wise Solomon, whom Nicocles (Henry) would do well to emulate. Elyot's expressed purpose, however, was to "assaie, if our Englysshe tunge mought receiue the quick and propre sentences pronounced by the greekes" so that "thei, which do not understande greeke nor latine, shulde not lacke the commoditee and pleasure, whiche maie be taken in readyng therof." Since translations from the classics were being made, though they were still few in number (see H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475 to 1557*), Elyot could accomplish two purposes, one expressed and one subtle, in rendering this translation. Although the work is slight, it is significant as probably the first English translation to have been made directly from a Greek source.

Doctrinal was published possibly in 1533. The title page of the Berthelet edition gives no date, and *Short-Title Catalogue*, 14277-78, suggests 1534. If we accept Elyot's own listing of his works as a chronological one (see *Image of Governance*), *Doctrinal* was his second publication. We may safely assert that it was written shortly after Elyot's return from the court of Charles V and that it preceded *Pasquil the Playne*, which we know was published in 1533 and again in 1540 (STC 7672-73).

Playful as *Pasquil the Playne* appears to be on the surface, there is no doubt that this treatise is a thinly veiled evaluation of contemporary politics. It probes the role of a counselor, and this problem was real enough when an honest counselor such as Thomas More had his difficulties. We should re-

call that in 1532 More had resigned his position as Lord Chancellor (R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More*, p. 287). In 1533 Henry's divorce was in effect. Audeley, the man who succeeded More, had no learning (p. 293). Elyot felt compelled to speak his mind, and his advice is clear.

Pasquil is a dialogue, or rather a three-way debate among Pasquil, who is a sincere adviser to his master; Gnatho, who is a mere flatterer; and Harpocrates, who prefers silence. The question debated is when should a counselor speak and when not in order to aid his master without hurting his own position. Aeschylus advised "holding thy tonge when it behoueth the, and spekyng in tyme that which is conuenient" (sig. A5r). The three interpret this statement differently. Gnatho believes that the adviser should say nothing which may be badly received by his master. Harpocrates sees silence as the safest way at virtually all times. Pasquil, who speaks for Elyot, considers the statement to mean that an adviser must speak truthfully at the opportune moment regardless of what his master would like to hear. The counselor must be honest and sincere. The court is not the place for flatterers. "Judge what menne lyste," says Pasquil, "my thought shall be free."

The sources which inspired this work are noteworthy. Elyot admired Plato and probably tried to imitate the Platonic dialogue. *Pasquil* is not, however, strictly a Platonic dialogue because Gnatho and Harpocrates are not convinced by Pasquil's argument. In his introduction to the work, Elyot identifies the three characters. Pasquil is a stone statue in Rome; Gnatho is a servant in comedy;

Harpocrates, who walks about with his finger over his mouth to emphasize silence, was once a prelate of the temple of Isis and Serapis. In addition, Elyot most likely had access to a collection of stories or dialogues between Pasquino and Marforio. This collection was published in 1512. Croft, in his edition of the *Governour* (I, xcvi), identifies Pasquino as a tailor in Rome who spoke satirically about the pope and clergy. S. E. Lehmberg (*Sir Thomas Elyot, Tudor Humanist*, p. 117, n. 8) believes that the name Pasquino was derived from a "sharp-tongued schoolmaster." After Pasquino's death, a statue was erected where his shop had been located. It was customary to write comments, usually satiric ones, and tag them on to this statue. Answers to these taunts were tagged on to another statue, that of Marforius. This comment and response lampooning continued and is the origin of the "pasquinade." *Pasquil the Playne* is the first pasquinade in English.

We are moved to speculate on which historical figures are delineated in this pasquinade—perhaps More, Wolsey, Cromwell, and even Elyot himself. Shortly after *Pasquil*, also in 1533, Elyot published *Of the Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man* and explained at length that he did not allude to any one person, for "there be Gnathos in Spayne as wel as in Grece, Pasquilles in Englande as welle as in Rome, Dionises in Germanye as welle as in Sicile, Harpocrates in France as wel as in Aegypt, Aristippus in Scotlande as well as in Cyrena, Platos be fewe, and them I doubte where to fynde" (E. J. Howard, ed., p. 9). Undoubtedly, Elyot had to exercise caution.

From the monologue and dialogue, Elyot turned to another safe device whereby to extend counsel to his king. The *Bankette of Sapience*, a collection of wise sayings, was published possibly as early as 1534 because the "newly augmented" edition of 1539 (STC 7630) bears the 1534 date on its title page. The work was reprinted in 1542, 1545, 1557, and 1564 (STC 7631-34). The number of printings attests to the popularity of this curious piece in its own day.

The collection is dedicated to Henry VIII, who, Elyot hoped, would welcome it as we welcome sustenance after fasting. Sapience serves a diet of adages at a "bankette." Since no sovereign can rule without Sapience, it is prudent to partake of her offerings. The dishes (adages), not all sweet or palatable, cover about one-hundred and twenty selections ranging from loyalty to deceit, from amity to wrath, from abstinence to gluttony, and so on. With each selection, a moral or warning is served, e.g., *Counsel*: The ruler who is governed by good counsel is governed by wisdom, but poor counselors are worse than a poor prince; power without wise counsel is a burden; so said Solomon. Elyot's servings are not original. He borrowed from over eighty sources, and these sources are indicated and credited in marginal notes. Wise sayings and proverbial statements appealed to the sixteenth-century audience. Elyot's collection took its place beside Caxton's *Dictes* and Erasmus' *Apophthegms*.

If counselors are to be learned and honest, they should serve rulers who appreciate these attributes. Such a ruler was Alexander Severus, a third-century Roman emperor. The *Image of Governance*, pub-

lished in 1541 and reprinted in 1544, 1549, and 1556 (STC 7664-67), uses his life and reign to illustrate Elyot's principles of good government. Alexander was not only physically strong and handsome, but also mentally competent because he had been properly educated. He had been taught Greek and Latin, rhetoric, painting, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy (cf. curriculum outlined in the *Governour*). As a result, he favored learning, and he established schools and good salaries to attract competent instructors. He ousted all flatterers and surrounded himself with wise counselors whom he encouraged to be honest and outspoken. He improved the lot of his people by building houses, baths, hospitals, and libraries. Elyot would have us believe that Alexander became a Christian; history confirms that Alexander treated Christians kindly.

The word *Image* in the title is significant. It connotes a mirror. The Renaissance considered history a mirror of the past wherein one could see the present and also learn what to avoid and what to pursue. By holding such mirror up to the exemplary reign of Alexander Severus, who combined the virtues of Plato's philosopher and Erasmus' Christian prince, Elyot hoped to counsel Henry and achieve good government through Christian-classical training of those who govern. This purpose is apparent in all Elyot's writing.

There is some doubt as to the literary source of *Image*. Elyot cites in his preface a Greek text by Eucolpius, supposedly Alexander's secretary, but we do not know any such text. This work, says Elyot, belonged to a certain Pudericus of Naples. Elyot undertook to translate this text freely and with

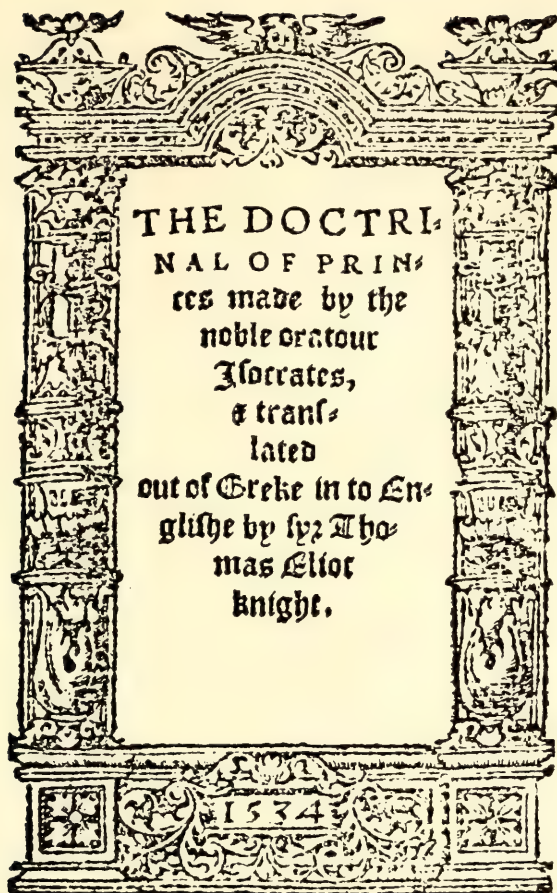
careful consideration, but Pudericus recalled it before Elyot could complete the translation. Elyot, therefore, filled in where necessary. That there was a Pudericus seems probable; he is mentioned in the *Aegidius* by Giovanni Pontano. *Image* is dedicated to a select group of readers—the lords, knights, and nobles who may serve the king “so that your vertues be correspondent unto your fortunes.”

Most valuable for the modern reader is Elyot's listing of his works to date (1541). Very likely this listing is chronological. Where the date of composition is open to question, as in the case of *Doctrinal*, we turn to this listing. The expressed purposes or aims of all the writings are very similar. *Doctrinal* aims to instill “into noble mens wittes honest opinions.” *Pasquil* aims to teach “seruantes how to be faythfull unto their maisters, as also masters how to be circumspect in espying of flaterars.” *Bankette* “in a litle rome sheweth out of holy scripture many wise sentences.” *Image* is to all who read it “a very true paterne wherby they may shape all their procedinges.”

LILLIAN GOTTESMAN

New York City

April 4, 1966



THE DOCTRINE
OF PRINCIPLES
made by the
noble oratour
Socrates,
& translated
out of Greke in to Eng-
lish by Syr Thomas Eliot
knight.

1534

2 3

Sir Thomas Eliot

knight to the reader .



his little booke (whiche in mine opinion) is to be compared in counsaile and short sentence with any booke, holy scripture excepted, I haue translated out of greeke, not presumyng to contende with them, whiche haue doone the same in latine : but to thintent only that I wolde assaie, if our English tunge mought receiue the quicke and propre sentences pronounced by the greekes. And in this experience I haue founde (if I be not muche deceiued) that the forme of speakyng, vsed of the Greekes, called in greeke, and also in latine, *Phrasis*, muche nere approacheth to that, whiche at this daie we vse : than the order of the latine tunge : I meane in the sentences, and not in the wordes: whiche I doubt not shall be affirmed

A ii

by

To the reader.

by them, who sufficiently instructed in all the saide three tungen, shall with a good iudgement read this woꝝke. And where I haue put at the beginnyng this woꝝd, beſſell, plate, or ſoꝝ that which is in greeke, bzaffe or golde wzought, it is perceiued of euery wiſe man, ſoꝝ what intent I did it. Finally the chiefe cauſe of this my litle exerciſe was: to the intent that thei, which do not vnderſtande greeke noꝝ latine, ſhoulde not lacke the commoditee and pleaſure, whiche maie be taken in readyng therof. wherefoꝝe if I ſhall perceine you to take this myne enterpriſe thankeſully, I ſhall that litle porcion of life, whiche remaineth (God ſendyng me quietneſſe of minde) beſtowe in preparing foꝝ you ſuch bookes, in the readyng wherof, ye ſhall finde bothe honeſt paſſe tyme and alſo profitable counſaile and lernyng.

Fare ye well.

The oration of Iſocrates to
Nicoles the kynge. 3 5



Nether that be wonte Nicoles, to bringe to you, that be kynges, garmettes, beſſell, or plate, or other lyke iewelles, wher of thei be neede, and ye be riche, and haue plentie: thei plaineſy ſenie vnto me, not to preſent you, but to make open market, ſellyng thoſe thinges much more craftily, than thei that confeſſe them ſelfe to retails. For my parte I ſuppoſe that to bee the beſte geſte and moſte profitable, alſo moſt conuenient as well for me to geue, as for the to receiue, if I mought preſcribe vnto the, by what ſtudies deſiryng, and from what woꝝkes abſteinyng; thou maiſt beſt order thy roialme and citee. For to priuate perſons be ſufficient Inſtructions, ſpecially that thei liue not delicately, but daieſy do labour for thinges con-

ISOCRATES TO

cernyng their liuyng. And mozeouer thei haue lawes, wherby thei are gouerned: Thei haue also libertee of speche, wherwith it is lefull for freendes to blame eche other, and enemies to reproche eche other of their offences.

Wherto diuers ancient poetes haue left sondrie workes, instructyng men howe to liue well, so that by all those meanes it seemeth, that diuers men haue amended their liuyng.

¶ But to great princes no suche thyng hapneth, for thei, who of all other ought to be best taught or instructed, after thei be ones stablished in their authoritee: thei styll perseuere most ignozant and without lernyng. For as muche as many men dare not appoche them, and thei that kepe theim companie speake alwaie to please them.

¶ Mozeouer, beyng made lordes of muche substance and great authoritee, and not vlyng well suche occasions as hap-

happen, thei haue caused many to
doubte, whiche life is best to be chosen,
either of them that liue priuately and
meanelly, or of them that be in princely
dignitee. for whan they beholde their
honour, richesse, and authozitee, thei
suppose, that all princes be equall to
gods, but whan thei consider the feare
and perils, and reuoluyng in their re-
membzances dooe finde some slaine by
them, that lesse ought to haue doone it,
other doyng some displeasure to their
most familiar companions, to diuers
hapneth bothe the one and the other:
than contrarie wise thei thinke it better
and more commodious, to liue in any o-
ther maner, how so euer it be, than in
so many dangers, to be kynge of all A-
sie. The cause of this disorder and trou-
ble, is for as muche as thei repute a
kynge dome as mete for euery man to
haue, as any other meane office, where
of al thinges pertainyng to man, a kinge

dome is the greatest, and requireth
 most prouidence, touchyng euery acte,
 wherby a man maie beste gouerne ac-
 cording to the maners of people, and to
 obserue suche thinges as be good, and
 exchuse those that be noisfull: it is expe-
 dient to take counsaile, and examine
 suche actes as be in daily experience.
 Generally, all studies, whiche ought to
 be obserued most diligently, and wher-
 in a man ought to be exercised, I wpll
 assaie to declare. but whether this my
 giste ones finished, shall accorde to the
 purpose that I goe about: it is harde to
 know at the beginnyng. for many thin-
 ges, whiche haue bene wyitten as well
 in verse as in prose, as longe as thei
 were in the myndes of the wyitars, men
 had of them great expectation: but af-
 ter thei were ones finished & openly pu-
 blished, men had of them opinion much
 lasse than thei hoped. Nowe be it this
 myne enterpryse is to be commended,
 wher:

wherin I seeke for that, whiche other men haue committed, and do prescribe rules to them that be gouernours.

¶ For they that teache priuate persons, do profite them whom they teache onely: But if any man instructeth in vertue them that haue rule ouer the multitude, he thereby profiteth the one and the other as well them that be in auctoritee, as those that be vnder their gouernance, for as muche as to the firste he maketh their auctoritee the more stable and sure, and to the other he causeth the rule or gouernance to be the more easier.

¶ First therfore it muste be considered, what is the office of them that doe gouerne, for if we order well the head, and that which is the principall of the whole matter, hauing our respecte therunto, the better shall we treat of the residue.

¶ I suppose all men wyll graunt, that it pertaineth to princes, their countreie by any aduersitee, beyng troubled, to set

A b

it in

ISOCRATES TO

it in quietnesse : And if it be welthie, so to prelerue it. And to make also great of that, that is litle, sens therfoze all o-
ther thynges, whiche daiely happen, ought to bee doone and experienced, and verily it is apparant to all men, that it behoueth them, that are and shal be of power to do the premisses, and also those, whiche shall therof consult, not to be ignorant : but to consider how they maie vse them moze prudently than o-
ther in their ministracion.

For it is very certaine that suche shall princes haue their roialmes and gouernance, as thei them selves haue prepa-
red their owne mindes and opinions.

And therfoze no wraffeler or champion ought so muche to trauaile his bodie in exercise, as kynges ought their mindes in studie : for all the prizes that euer were geuen in commune games or Justes, are in no parte to be compared to that prize, wherfoze ye that be kin-
ges

ges, dafely do labour : whiche thynges
 considered, it is expedient to take good
 hede, that as muche as thou excellest o-
 ther men in honour, so much moze thou
 maicst excede them in vertues. And
 thinke not care and diligēce in al other
 thinges profitable, and in making vs
 better to be of none importance: He
 condemne not mans infelicitie, that
 concernyng beastes we haue founde
 craftes to make them tame, and to be
 of moze value, and litle do auance our
 selves to the atteinyng of vertue. but
 rather as lernyng and industrie maie
 be in any thyng beneficiall vnto our
 soules, so order thy witte and opinion.
 Be also most familiar with them, whi-
 che beyng about the, be wisest: and get
 other suche as thou maicst come by
 mosse like vnto them.

Thinke not that it shall become thee,
 to lacke the knowlage of any famous
 poetes and other great learned men:
 but

but be thou of the one the herer, of the other the disciple or scholer .

E Prepare thy selfe so, that in vertue thou maiest be iudge of them, whiche therein be thine inferiours, and a contentar with them that be thy superiours, by suche maner of exercise thou shalt soone atteine to be suche one , as we determined that he ought to be , that ruleth a right , and gouerneth well his countreie or citee .

Thou shalt be counsailed best by thy selfe, in thinkyng it inconuenient , that the better be ruled by the woyle, or that fooles before wise men shulde be preferred .

The more vehemently thou abhorrest other mens madnesse or folie , the better shalt thou practise thy wit : for therat must thei begyn, that purpose to do any of those thynges, whiche be conuenient and necessarie . And therewith loue well their people and countraie ,
fo3

For no man shall rule well either, horse
or houndes, nor men, or any thyng els,
if he delite not and take pleasure in
those thynges, whiche be vnder his go-
uernance.

Take care of the multitude, and es-
teeme aboue all thynges, to rule graci-
ously ouer them, whom thou gover-
nest, remembryng that as well where
fewe persons gouerneth, as also in o-
ther commune weales, thei longest doe
continue, that for the multitude do take
most care and studie.

Thou shalt truly rule well thy peo-
ple, if thou neither doest suffre any man
to do wronge, nor despisest any that suf-
fereth wronge. And takest good hede,
that good men be rewarded with ho-
nour and auctoritee, and that other by
any iniurie be not indamaged. These
be the principles and chiefe introducti-
on in to the right and commendable go-
uernance of a publike weale.

*Injuries
to be auoi-
ded,*

¶ Re-

ISOCRATES TO

**Partefull
traditions
to be auoi
ded.**

¶ Repell or change suche lawes and ordinaunces as be not well constitute, specially be thou the aurtour of those that be good, or at the least the folower of them that were well made by other.

**What the
lawes
shulde be.**

¶ Seeke for suche lawes, that on al partes be good, and doe profite to all vniuersally, and in them selves be of one accorde and consent: moreover, those that amonge the people make fewest contentious. And suche controuerxies as be, determine them shortly. Al these thynges ought to be in lawes, that be well and substantially ordeined.

¶ Provide for thy people suche occupation, as wherby may growe great advantage and lucre, and that contention and sute, maie bringe to them detrimente, to the intent that they maie eschue the one, to the other thei maie be well disposed and redy.

¶ In controuerxies geue alwaies such sentence as is not repugnant, and pronounce

nonce thy iudgements without fauour
to any man, and without discoꝛdance,
so that thei be euer all one and like in
semblable causes.

¶ It becometh and is also expedient to
princes in matter of iustice, to haue the
minde immoueable, like to the lawes
that be well prouided.

¶ Order thy Citie oꝝ countreie, lyke
thy house leste by thy father, in stuffe
gaie and roially decked, in occupation
busie and diligent, that thou maiest
haue bothe honour and abundance of
richesse.

To go
uerne a
citee.

¶ Al be it declare thy magnificence not
in such sumptuous expences, that shortly
doo vanishe, but onely in the thynges
before expessed: that is to saie, in the
adournyng oꝝ garnisshyng of thy posses-
sions, and in beneficence and liberali-
tee towarde thy friendes, for that, whi-
che is so employed, shal remaine with
the styll, and thou shalt leaue to thy
chil-

ISOCRATES TO

children more commoditee therby, thall
thei shoulde haue of superfluous ex-
pences.

In the honour due vnto god obserue
diligently that whiche is leste vnto thee
by thy progenitours. and suppose verily,
that sacrifice to be moste acceptable
and seruice most thankful to god, if thou
endeuour thy selfe to excell all other
men in vertue and iustice. For vn-
doubtedly therby shalt thou opteine
more reasonable petitions, than if thou
wydst geue vnto hym great treasure or
offrynges.

Rewardz thy familiar counsaillours
with principall dignitees, and to them
whom thou knowest beneuolent and
trustie, geue perpetuall and stable pro-
motions.

Princes
sure garde

Thinke that the beste and most sure
garde of thy person be frendes vertu-
ous and honest, louyng and beneuolent
subiectes, and thine owne wyll stable
and

and circumspecte : for by those thynges
authoritee is obtained and lengest pre-
served.

Haue good awaite on the househol-
des, and expences of thy subiectes, thin-
kyng that thei dispendyng vnprofitably,
dooe consume thine owne propre
treasure, and that whiche thei get by
their good husbandrie augmenteth thy
substance and honour : Consideryng
that all the goodes of them that be sub-
iectes, be at the commaundement of
the prince that ruleth well and honour-
rably.

A prince
right ouer
his sub-
iectes.

Let men perceiue the to haue allwaie
trithe in suche reuerence, that to thy
wordes, thei mai sooner geue credence
than to other mens othes.

Make thy countreie safe and sure a-
bidyng to all them that be strangers,
and in their contractes iuste and indif-
ferent.

Of suche as dooe repaire vnto thee,
as
let

set more by them, that for some merite doe looke to haue some thyng of thee, than of those that do byngge presentes to thee, for honoꝝyng men for their merites thou shalte muche more be of o^rther commended.

Take awaie feare fro thy subiecttes, and be not terrible to them that haue not offended, but like as thou wouldest haue them disposed towarde the, so be thou towarde them.

Doe thou nothyng in furie, sens o^rther men knowe what time and occasi^on is meetest for the.

Be thou sene to haue suche wisdomē and grautē, that nothyng that is done can be hid from thee, not withstanding be thou easie and mercifull, in punishyng offences vnder their merites.

Shewe thy selfe princely, not in surdinesse, oꝝ punishyng cruelly, but in surmountyng all other in wisdomē, that thei maie suppose that thou canst counsaile

counsaile them better for their weale than thei can them selves.

EBe also warlike and valiant in feastes of armes and prouision for warres, but yet notwithstanding embrace thou peace, and do nothing iniustly.

Deale thou with inferior countreies in all entercourses and mutuall contractes, accordyng as thou woldest that thei that be to thy countreie superiours, shulde do vnto the.

Strive not for euery thyng, but for that onely whiche, if thou opteinest maie be to thy profite.

Blame not them that be vanquished to their commoditee, but accompte the to be fooles that do vanquish other to their owne detriment.

Suppose not them to be men of great wisdomie, that doe take greater thinges in hande than thei can orde: but those, whiche in meane thynges dooe byinge well to passe that that thei pur-

B ii

posed.

posed.

Followe not them that dooe opteine greattest auctoritee, but them that best ble thinges that be present.

Finally do not thinke thy selfe happy, if thou rulest ouer all men terribly and in great danger, but if beyng suche as thou oughtest to be, and doyng as the time present requireth, thou desirest moderate thynges, and therof thou lackest nothyng, than arte thou happy.

Get thee frendes, not all them that dooe seke friendship of the : but suche as be most agreable vnto thy nature, neither those, with whom thou shalte liue pleasantly, but with whom thou maicst gouerne thy countrey most surely.

Make diligent espiall and prouise of thy most familiar seruantes, remembryng that suche as be not with the so conuersant, doe suppose that thou arte like in condicions to them, whom thou vsest familiarly.

Mar:

¶ Matters, wherwith thou thy selfe wilte not medel, committe to suche persons, as what so euer thei do, the blame shall be imputed chiefly vnto the.

¶ Thinke not them to be loial or faithfull, that doe praise all thyng that thou doest, but them that do blame the thing, wherin thou erreth.

¶ Geue to wise men libertie to speake to thee freely: that in thynges, wherof thou doubteth, thou maiest haue them, with whom thou maiest trie out the certaintee.

¶ Discerne crafty flatterers, from the that dooe serue the with true herte and beneuolence, lest the euill men receiue more profite by thee, than thei that be honest and vertuous.

*Craftie
flatterers*

¶ Here diligently what men speke mutually one of an other, and assaie to know as well what maner of persons those be that haue spoken, as also thei, of whom thei reported.

ISOCRATES TO

¶ Accordyngly as thou correctest offend-
ers, semblably, and with the same pu-
nishment correcte false detractours and
accusers of innocentes.

¶ Haue no laste dominion or rule ouer
thy selfe, than ouer other.

¶ Thinke it moste incident vnto a
kyng and most roiall, neuer to be sub-
iecte to pleasant affections, but to rule
more ouer thyne appetites than ouer
thy people and subiectes.

¶ Admitte no recreation without good
aduisement, but delite in suche exercise,
wherby thou maist receiue some com-
moditee, and that other maie perceiue,
that thou arte therby the better.

¶ Glory not in suche thinges, which are
possible to be done by them that be vn-
thyrstes, but reioice in vertue, wherin
euill men can not participate with thee.

Very ho-
nour.

¶ Suppose not honour to be that, which
is published abroad with feare, but be-
lieue honour to be, where men by them
selves

selfes wonder moze at thy wisedome
than at thy fortune .

¶ If it chance the to take any pleasure
in any thyng that is not honest oꝝ ver-
tuouse, do it verie secretly, but goyng a-
bout thinges of gret weight and impoꝝ-
tāce, shew thy selfe abrode vnto al men.

¶ Require not that all other men shuld
liue in good order , and princes to be in
their liuyng remisse and negligent, but
oꝝdꝛe thy temperance in liuyng, to be
an example to other, consideryng that
the maners of all the whole citee oꝝ con-
trate, do insue and resemble their pꝛin-
ces condicions .

¶ It shall be to the a token , that thou
hast well gouerned , if thou perceiue
them that be vnder thy gouernance to
be by thy diligence welthie and moze
temperate in liuyng .

¶ Set moze by leauyng to thy chil-
dren honest fame oꝝ renoume, than gret
possessions oꝝ richesse , foꝝ these be tran-

Honest
fame,

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sytozie, the other immortall. Also gooddes maie be gotten by fame, but good fame can be bought with no money.

Also gooddes happen to men that be of euill disposition, but so doth not good estimacion, but cometh onely to them that endeuour them selfe with vertue to gette it.

E Be delicate in thine apparaile and garmentes that serue for thy bodie, in all other partes of thy liuyng be continent as it becometh all princes of honour, to the intent that thei that behold the, for thine honorable presence mai deme the woorthy to be a gouernour and thy familiars and seruauntes for thy noble courage may haue of the a lyke good opinion.

C Consider diligently both thynne owne woordes and thy dedes, to the intent thou maist fall in very fewe errors.

Of all thynges it is beste to happen on the right pointe of all thynges that
are

are to be doone, but for as muche as that is very harde to be knowen, better is to leue somewhat, than to errede .

For that, wherin somewhat doth lacke is nerer to temperance, than that wherin is to muche abundance .

¶ Endeavour the to be bothe courtaise and of a reuerende grauitee: for the one becometh a prince, the other is expedient and more agreable to euery company: all be it to vse both, it is of all other thinges the moste difficile. for thou shalt fynde for the more parte them that vse a reuerent grauitee to be vnpleasaunt, them that be courtysse, to be of base courage and simple . Therfore the one and the other is to be vsed, but than exclude that thyng, whiche in any of them is yll or seemeth inconuenient .

¶ If thou woldest perfectly know that, which belongeth to kynges to perceiue, geue the to experience and studie of philosophy, for philosophy shall declare vn-

Courtesy
& grauitee

Experi-
ence and
philoso-
phy .

B b

to

to thee the meanes oꝝ waies howe to bringe to passe thine affaires : experience in semblable businesse shall make thee able to doo oꝝ susteine them.

Behold e diligently, that whiche as well princes as priuate persons do daily, and what of their actes doth succede in conclusion.

Surely if thou remembꝛe well thinges that are passed, thou shalt the better consulte of thynges comyng.

Thinke where priuate persons haue died with good will, to the intent that after their death they mought be commended, that it were great shame to princes, not to trauaile in suche studie oꝝ businesse, wherby in their liues they maye be woꝛthily pꝛaised.

Desyre to leaue whan thou diest, rather monumentes oꝝ images of thy vertues than of thy personage.

Endeuoꝛ the specially to kepe alwaies thy selfe and thy countrey in suretie.

¶ If necessitee constreigne thee to lea-
parde thy person, chose rather to die with
honour, than to liue in reproche .

¶ In-all thyne actes remembre that
thou arte a prince : and therfore do no
thyng vnworthie to so high a dignitee.

¶ Set not so litle by thy nature , that
thou suffre thy selfe all wholly to perishe,
but in as muche as thy bodie is mortal,
and thy soule immortall , assaie to leue
to thy soule an immortall remembrance .

¶ Use thee to speake of honest affaires
and studies, that by suche custome thou
maiest thinke on like thynges as thou
speakest of.

¶ Thynges that in counsailling seme to
be beste, those execute thou in thy pro-
per actes .

¶ At whose good renowne thou hast
most enuie, his dedes do thou folow .

¶ Looke what thou counsailest thy chil-
dren or seruantes to doe, thinke it con-
uenient that thy selfe do the same .

Either

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Either vse that whiche I haue aduised the to do, or enuyze for better than that is.

Suppose not them to be wise men, that sharpely can talke of small thinges and trifles, but those that can substantially reason in matters of weighty importance.

Nor thinke not them wise, that promise to other men welthe and good fortune, thei them selfe beyng in great necessity, but rather those that speakyng of them selves moderately, can with other men and in their affaires vse them selfe well and discretely and beyng not troubled with any change of their liuing, knowe howe to beare honestly and temperately as well aduersitee as also prosperitee.

And meruaile thou not, that I haue now reherfed many thynges that thou knewest before, nor that forgotte I not, but knewe well enough, that beyng
suche

suche a multitude as well of pꝛinces as of pꝛiuate persons , some of them haue spoken the same that I did , and many haue hearde it, and diuers haue seen oꝛ ther men done it, and some there be that by them selves haue experienced it . Not withstanding in mater concerning Instruction, noueltie is not to be sought foꝛ, foꝛ therein ought not to be founden either singuler opinion , oꝛ thyng impossible , oꝛ contrarie to mens coniecture : but suppose that to be in heryng moſte gracious oꝛ pleasant, whiche be yng solwen in the mindes of other, maie assemble moſte matter to the purpose, and the same declare beste and moſte aptely . Foꝛ this knowe I well , that the counsailes and wise sentences of poetes and other good authours , are thought of all men to be very profitable : yet will not thei very gladly geue eare vnto them , but be therewith in the same case, as thei be with those that doe
geue

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gene them good counsaile, for thei praise
 them all, but thei care not howe sel-
 dome thei come in their compani, desir-
 yng to be rather with offendours, than
 with them that of sinne be the rebu-
 kars. Example we maie take of the po-
 emes or woorkes of Hesiodus, Theog-
 nes, and phocillides. For every man
 affirmeth the to be excellent counsailes
 concernyng mans lyfe, but all though
 thei saie so, yet had thei leuer vse that,
 wherto their owne madnesse induceth
 them, than folow that wherto the others
 preceptes doeth aduise them. Moreover
 if one shulde gader out of the saide
 authours that whiche men call centu-
 res, wherin thei perchance haue ben stu-
 dious: in semblable wise toward them
 shuld thei be disposed, for thei shuld with
 moze pleasure here a lyng fable or a fā-
 tasie, than the saide preceptes made by
 much connyng and diligence. But what
 nedeth it to tarie longe vpon every ma-
 ter?

ter? Generally if we will consider the
natures of men, we shall perceiue, that
many of them delite neither in meates
that bene most holsome, nor in studies
that ben most honest, nor in dedes that
be moste conuenient: nor yet in doc-
trine that is most commodious, but im-
bracing plesant appetites, which be re-
pugnant to profite, wolde seme to be
painfull and laboriouse, although thei
doo nothing expedient, or necessarie.
Howe maie any man content any suche
persons, either by prechynge or teaching
or tellyng of any thyng that is profita-
ble: that for the wordes that be spoken,
do enuie and haue indignacion at them
that speake truly, and doe take them for
plaine men or simple, in whom lacketh
wisdomme? so muche they abhorre
trouthe in all thynges, that thei knowe
not what is theirs or do belonge to their
office, but consultyng or reasonyng of
that whiche dothe pertaine vnto them,
thei

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thei be sadde and vnpleasant, whan
 thei talke of other mens affaires thei be
 merie and ioyous. Moreouer thei had
 leauer suffer some grese in their bodie,
 than in reuoluyng what shuld be moste
 necessarie, trauaile any thyng in their
 mindes. And if a man take good hede
 he shall fynde in theyr mutuall assem-
 bles and companies, that either thei re-
 proue other men, or els that thei of o-
 ther be in some thyng reprocued. And
 whan thei be by themselves, thei be euer
 wishyng and neuer consultyng. I haue
 not spoken this againe all men but on-
 ly againe them that be gilty in that,
 whiche I haue reherced. Finally this
 is apparant and certaine, who so euer
 wyl make or wryte any thyng pleas-
 sant and thankfull to the multitude, he
 maie not seke for woordes or matters
 most profitable, but for them that con-
 teine most fables and leasynges. For
 in bearyng suche thynges thei reioyce:
 but

but whan thei perceiue to be labours
and contentions in their affaires , than
be they penſiſe. Wherefoze Homere and
they that founde firſte tragedies, mai
bee well meruailed at , who in their
wozkes vſed bothe the ſaide ſourmes in
wzitynge, fo: Homere expreſſed in his
wozkes the contentions and batailles
of them, whiche fo: their vertues, were
named halfe goddes, the other brought
thoſe fables into actuall apparaunce .

In ſo muche as we not onely maie here
them, but alſo maie preſently beholde
them, by ſuche example is it declared to
them that bee ſtudious to pleaſe their
herers, that thei muſt abſtaine from ex-
hortyng and counſailyng them, and that
thei apply them to wzite and ſpeake
that onely, wherein thei perceiue the mul-
titude to haue moſte delectacion .

This befoze wzitten haue I declared,
thinkyng that it beſemeth not the that
art not one of the people, to be of lyke

¶

opinion

ISOCRATES TO

opinion with the multitude, or to iudge thynges to be honest, or men to be pleasant, according to thy sensuall appetite, but to trie and esteeme them by their good and profitable actes.

Moreover for as muche as they that labour in the studie of Philosophy, concerning the exercise of the myndes, be of sondrie opinions, some sayng that men become wiser by muche disputyng and reasonyng, other affirme that it hapneth by exercise in polityke gouernance, or ciuill causes, diuers suppose it to come of other doctrynes: but finally they all doe confesse, that he whiche is well brought vp, may by euery of the saide studies gather mater sufficient to geue good counsaile.

Therefore he that wyll leaue the doubtfull opinions, and wyll applie to that whiche is certaine, he muste examine the reasons therof, and specially they that be counsaillours ought to haue considered

Consideracion of the occasion, time and oportunitie, if thei can not bringe that to passe, than to reiecte and put awaie as well them whiche speke in all matters generally, as also those that perceiue nothyng that is expedient or necessarie, for it is aparant, and certaine, that he whiche can not be to him selfe profitable, he shall in other mens businesse do nothyng wisely.

Make muche of them that be wise, and do perceiue moze than other men, and haue good regarde towarde them: remembryng that a good counsaillour, is of all other treasure the most roiall and profitable, and thinke verily that they whiche can most aide and profite to thy witte or reason, shall make thy kyngedome mooste ample and honozable.

Wherefore for my parte as muche as I can, I haue exhorted the, and honozed the with suche presentes as be in my power to geue the. And desyre thou not,

¶ ii

that

A good
counsail-
lour.

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that other men shulde bringe vnto the
 (as I saide at the beginnyng, their ac-
 customed presentes, which ye shuld bie
 muche derer of the giuers, than of the
 sellers: but couaite thou suche presen-
 tes, whiche if thou do vse well and dili-
 gently omittynge no tyme, thou not ones-
 ly shalt not consume them, but thou
 shalt also encrease them, and make
 them of moze estimation and value.

Finis.

Addicion, to fill vp

vacant pages.



All truly writeth Salomon,
 The herte of the kynge is in
 the hande of god, and whiche
 way so ever he willeth he shal
 incline it: but the very laude of a good
 kynge is, if he againe incline his herte
 to god, the kynge of all kynges, alwaie
 bendyng to his will, without whose fa-
 uour:

uourable aide, mans indeuour can no-
thyng dooe: and so frameth all his
actes, as knowlageyng and myndyng,
that what so euer he dooeth, he dooeth
it befoze his eies, who is no lesse iudge
ouer kynges then ouer common peo-
ple. Nothyng is truely prosperous,
nothyng can be called welthy, that the
authour of all felicitie wyll not vouch-
safe to make fortunat. Most luckely,
moste happily it is doone, what so euer
is doone acco:dyng to his wyll, who
saieth: Wy me kynges do reigne, and
the lawe makers deterne iuste thinges:
by me princes rule, and mighty men
iudge iust thynges. This saide the e-
ternall wisdom, whiche is the sonne
of God. What prescribeth Sapience
to kynges? Mercy (saieth she) and
Trouthe doe kepe the kyng: and his
Throne is made stronge with clemen-
cie. He sheweth Mercie in succouryng
the oppressed: Trouthe in iudgeyng

ADDICION.

truely. Clemencie in temperyng the
 Seueritee of the lawes with lenitee.
 The speciall duetie, and wherunto
 kynges were wonte to bee sworne,
 whan thei beganne their reigne, was
 this, to helpe widowes, to succour the fa-
 therlesse, and to deliuer and defende all
 that are oppressed fro iniurie. Trowthe
 hath two companions, Sapience and
 Constancie. Sapience geueth light vnto
 the eyes: wherby is perceiued, what
 is right, and what not, what is pro-
 fitable for the weale publyke, and what
 is contrarie to it. Constancie causeth,
 that the mynde, ouercompyng all coue-
 rous desires, neither with ire, nor with
 loue, nor with hatred, is moued from
 honestie. Clemencie tempereth with
 lenitee necessarie Seueritee. Clemen-
 rie is not forthwith to goe in hande
 with warre, whan cause of warre is
 geuen, but to leaue no reasonable
 meane vnaassayed, to see whether the
 matter

matter maie bee determined without warre. And otherwhile it is better to dissemble the iniurie, than to reuenge it by force of armes. It is Clemencie, if by no meanes it maie be eschewed, so to make warre, that as littell humane bloudd be spilde as can be, and that the warres be ended as shortly as maie be. For this wisdom, that bringeth all good thynges with it, Salomon praied for, that he shulde alwaie bee assistant to his Throne, as a mosse faithfull and trusty counsaillour.

Finis.

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PASQVIL ⁴¹
THE
PLAYNE,

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS
THOMAE BERTHELETI.
M.D.XXXIII.

TO gentile reders.

SEnſplainnes in ſpeking
 is of wiſe men cōmen-
 ded and diuerſe do ab-
 horne longe prohemies
 of Rhetorike : I haue
 ſette out this mery treatiſe, wherein
 plainnes and ſtateri do come in trial/
 in ſuche wiſe as none honeſt man wil
 be therwith offended . The perſona-
 ges that do reaſone / be of ſmall re-
 putation : For Paſquillus, that ſpe-
 keth moſte, is an image of ſtone / ſit-
 ting in the citie of Rome openly : on
 whome ones in the yere, it is leſul to
 euery man, to ſet in verſe or proſe a-
 ny taūte that he wil, agayne whom
 he liſt, howe great an aſtate ſo euer
 he be . Not withſtandynge in this
 booke he vſith ſuche a temperaunce,
 that he notith not any particular p-
 ſone or Countrey . Gnatho was
 brought in by writers of Comedies
 fo:

for suche a seruante / as alway affir-
med, what so euer was spokē of his
maister : but he was a Dreke borne/
and therfore he sauorith some what
of rethorike . Pasquille is an olde
Romane / but by longe sittinge in the
strete, and heringe market men chat/
he is become rude and homely .

Harpocrates was the prelate of the
temple of Isis and Serapis, whiche
were honorid for goddis in Aegypt/
whose image is made holdynge his
synger at his mouthe . betokeninge
silence . These thre comuned to ge-
ther, as it foloweth / but where, I
had forgotten to aske . All be it by-
cause the matter is merily brought
in and therwith sauoreth somewhat
of wisedome : I thought it not in-
conueniēt to participate it with you
that will not interprete it but accor-
dinge to the beste meaninge, And in
the redinge this littill treatise distin-
ctly, will considre diligently the state

A.ii.

and

and condicion of the parson that spe
keth / with the ordre and conclusion
of his hole reason. And if it seme to
you / that Pasquill sayth true / in de
claringe howe moche ye do fauoure
truthe / defende hym ageynste vene
mous tungen and ouerthwart wite
ris, whiche doeth more myschieffe,
than Pasquillus babillinge.

Fare ye well.

PASQVILL. 3

45

Pasquillus. Gnato. Harpocrates.

PASQVILL.



It is a wonder to se the
woulde nowe a dayes.
The more straunge the
better lyked, therfore
with greatte payne a
mā may knowe an honest man from
a false harlotte. But peace, who is
this gallant that standeth here har-
kynge? What I saye myne olde
felowe Gnatho, I praye the come
forthe, ye steale not so awaye. Per-
dye I knowe youre olde facyon/
though ye be nowe thus straungely
disguysed. GNATO. Who spe-
keth to me: Pasquillus? sawst thou
not Harpocrates late? I seeke for
hym, he must come to my lorde.

PASQVILL. I wote not whither
thyn eye soughte for Harpocrates,
but sure I am that thyn ere sought
for Pasquillus. But I praye the
tourne about: thou haste the stran-

A 3 gest

gest apparaile that euer I loked on :
 What haue we here : a cappefull of
 aglettes & bottons / this longe estrige
 fether doeth wonderly wel / the tirse
 of the cappe tourned downe afore
 lyke a pentise hath a meruayllous
 good grace : but this longe gowne
 and straye sleues is a non sequitur,
 and hit shall lette you to flee / and
 than your fethers shall stande you
 in no stede, and so mought ye happē
 to be combred, if ye shulde come in
 to a stoure / where ye wolde shyfte
 for your selfe . God a vowe what
 dost thou with this longe tippet ? if
 it were whyte / I wolde haue sayd,
 that thou camest to chalenge men at
 waastlyng / but I wene ye haue wal
 ked late in the strete, and pulled hit
 from somme wooshyppfull doctour.
 What a goddes name, haue ye a
 boke in your hande ? a good felow
 shyp wherof is it ? let me se. Nouū
 testamētū : What, thou deceiuest me,
 I had

I had wend thou couldest haue skil-
 lid of nothing but onli of flateri. But
 what is this i your bosom? an other
 boke/or els a payre of cardis of vale-
 ri falsched? did I not say at the first/
 that it is a wonder to se this world?
 Som wil be i the bowels of diuinite
 er they know what longeth to good
 humanitie. Abyde, what is here?
 Troylus & Chreseid? Lord what dis-
 cord is bitwene these two bokes? yet
 a great dele more is there in thin apa-
 rayl. And yet most of al betwene the
 boke in thy hãde & thy cõdicions. As
 god helpe me, as moche as betwene
 trouth & lesing. G. Wel Pasq̃l, thou
 wylt neuer leue thyn old custome in
 railing, yet hast thou wyt inough to
 pceiue what damage & hidrace thou
 hast therbi susteined: & more art thou
 likely & with greater peryll, if thou
 haue not good awayte, what, and
 to whome, and where thou spekest.
 I herde the wordes that thou spa-
 kest

PASQVILL.

kest whyle ere, wherof if I wolde be a reporter, it mought tourne the to no littell displeasure: but I know that thou arte a good felowe, and woldest that all thyng were well, though thy wordes be all crabbed. Wherfore not withstandynge that thou speakest rebukefully to me, I take hit in iape, ne wyll carye hense with me the presumptuous wordes that thou spakest. But by myne advise leue nowe at the last thin yndiscrete libertie in speche, wherin thou vsest vnprofitable tauntes and rebukes, I may well calle them vnprofitable, wherby nothyng that thou blamist, is of one iote amended, and thou lovest therby preferment whiche thyn excellent wit doth require, ⁊ that wors is, trauailest in study of minde to augmente thin owne detriment, and therin losist moche tyme, that mought be better employed.

CI remembre that ones I asked a man

man, that was wise and verye well
 lerned, how I mought sonest come
 to promotion: he sayde. vsyng Aes-
 chylus counsaylle / whiche was a
 writar of tragedies: and I deman-
 ded / what it was. And he aunswere-
 red holdyng thy tonge wher it beho-
 ueth the. And spekyng in tyme that
 whiche is conuenient. And the same
 lesson Pasquillus if thou woldeste
 obserue, I doubt not, but that thou
 shuldest synd therein no lytle comodi-
 tie. P A S. Mary Gnatho I wyl no
 more wonder at thy sydegowne: for
 thou arte moche wysar than I sup-
 posed. I had wende al this whyle /
 that by nature onely thou haddest
 ben instructed to flatter, but by saint
 Ione I se now, that thou ioynest al-
 so therto a shrewde wyt, and prepa-
 rest to the helping therof as it were
 a crafte gathered of lernynge and
 scripture. Notwithstanding a good
 felowshyp / if thy taryenge shall not

A s

be

be greuouse or hurtfull vnto the (so: I knowe howe expedient it is that thou be not longe oute of the syght of thy mayster (if thou wylt be Gna tho alone) tell me how thou vnderstandest the sayd sentence of Aeschylus tragedy: so: I feare we two do vnderstande hym dyuersely, & than thy counsayle in respect to thy purpose shall lytell profyte me. GNA. Supposest thou so? In good saythe and to me it semeth so playne, that it nedeth none expositor, but to the intent that my counsayll to the may take some effect, in the lyttell tyme that I may now tary, I wyl as compendiously as I can, shewe my conceite, in declaringe what I thinke, that Aeschylus mente by the sayde sentence.

¶ It behoueth a man to holde his tunge, whan he aforeseeth by any experience, that the thinge, which he wolde purpose or speke of to his superior,

perious, shall neyther be pleasantly
herde nor thankesfully taken. And in
wordes oportunitie & tyme alwaye
do depende on the affection and ap-
petite of hym that hereth them.

Now sayest thou Pasquill, is it not
so? PASQVILL. So? No so
mote I go. But one thyng here me.
I wyll nat flatter the Gnatho. If
thou vnderstandeste no better the
newe testament (whiche thou cariest
as solemnely with the, as thou shuldest
rede a priue lesson, Dem, I had
almoste tolde where openly) than
thou doest Aeschylus sentence/ whiche
as if thou haddest bene lerned,
thou toldest to me so: a counsaylle,
thy brethe wyll be so hote shortly/
that thou wylt make men aserde to
come within twentye fote of the.
And herke in thyne care. By my
trouth, I wene it be neyther better
nor warse. GNATO. Wyl yenot
leue your ouerthwart facion. I can
no

PASQVILL.

no more. I se it is vaine to counsaile
a madde man to loke to his profite.
Fare well, I haue somewhat els to
do, than to attende to thy pratyng.

PASQVILL. What be you angry
for this? loke on the boke in youre
hande: perdie hit agreeth not with
your profession to be out of charitie.
But gentyll Gnatho tary so long as
I may shew the how I vnderstande
the sayde sentence of Aeschylus.

GNATHO. Say on. PASQVILL.

Where two hostes be assembled,
and in poynt to fyght: if thou be a-
mong them, though thou be a great
astronomer, it behoueth the to hold
thy tunge, and not to talke of con-
iunctions. and of the trine or quar-
til aspectes but to prepare the to ba-
taylle. Where a good felowshyp is
sette at dyce or at cardes, though
thou be lerned in geometrie: holde
thy tunge and speke not of proporci-
ons or figures. Where men be sette

at

at a good souper / and be busily occupied in eatynge and drynkyng, though thou be depely sene in philosophy / holde thy tonge and dispute not of temperaunce, or moderate diete. Where thou arte amonge a greatte company of gallauntes and yonge women / at bankettynge or other recreations : though thou be well lerned in holy scripture / holde thy tonge, interprete not Paules epistels, for therein is no dalyaunce. Where thou seeste thy frende in a great presence honoured of all men, though thou knowest in hym notable vices, yet there holde thy tonge, and reproche hym not of them. Where thou seest thy lorde or mayster in the presence of many / resolved in to fury or wantonnesse / though thou hast all redy aduertisementes / howe he shall refrayne it : yet holde thy tonge than, for troublynge that presence.

On

PASQVILL.

COn the other parte. If before battaile ioyned, thou beholdest thy side the weaker: and thyne aduersaries more puissaunt and stronger: speke than of policie, wherby thou hopest to optayne the victorie.

CBefore that thy frende syt the downe to dyce, if thou dost perceiue, that he shall be overmatched: discourage hym betyme, or he repent hym in pouertie.

CWhan thy frendes be set downe to souper, before the cuppes be twise fylled: reherce the peryll and also dishonestie that hapneth by glotony.

CWhan yonge men and women haue appoynted a bankette / than er the ouens be hete, and tables all couered / reherce hardely the sentences of saynt Paule or saynt Hierome, if thou be lerned.

CIf thou knoweste a vice in thy frende, which is of a fewemen suspected / er it be talked of at the tauerne

uerne, or of his enemy reproched /
warne him of the damage that may
happen / if it be not amended.

Whan thou perceiuest thy Mai-
ster to be resolved in to wrath or as-
fections dishonest. Before wrathe
be increased in to fury, and affection
into beastly enormitie: As oportuni-
tie serueth the, reuerently and with
tokens of loue towarde hym, speke
suche wordes as shalbe conuenient.

Oportunitie consisteth in place or
tyme, where and whan the sayd as-
fections or passion of wrath be some
dele mitigate and out of extremitie.
And wordes be called conueniente,
whiche haue respect to the nature
and state of the person, vnto whom
they be spoken, and also to the detri-
ment, whiche mought ensue by the
vice or lacke that thou hast espied, it
ought not to be as thou hast suppo-
sed. For oportunitie and tyme for a
counsayllour to speke / do not depend
of

PASQVILL.

of the affection and appetite of hym
that is counsayled: mary than coun-
saylle were but a vayne worde, and
euery man wolde do as hym lyst.

For if he listed not to here any coun-
saylle, he shulde neuer be warned of
his owne errour but by satietie and
tediousnesse of his owne vice: or by
grace, if he were worthy to haue it)
GNA. Nowe by the sayth I owe
to god, I wold not haue thought,
that thou haddest ben so well rayso-
ned. For men haue alwaye reputed
the but for a babbler and raylar.

PASQVILL. ye what men? by
god those whiche oughte moste to
haue thanked me. I saye / herke in
thine eare: Popes, emperours, kin-
ges, and cardinales. Thou herest
what I say. when they, by suche as
thou & Harpocrates be / were with
flattery and dissimulation brought
in to the hate of god and the people,
ones in a yere / I gaue them warning
neither

neither for menaces, nor yet for bea-
tynges, I neuer celled. Thou arte
remembred whan pope Leo sware,
that he wolde throwe me into the
ryuer of Tyber. And that yere I
went to saint James on pilgrimage/
which I auowed, if I escaped drow-
ning. But in an unlucky houre was
I a pylgreme: for sens there haue
comen bothe to saint James at Ló-
postella/and to saint Peter at Rome
euery yere ten thousande pilgrmes
fewer, than there dyd a thousande
yeres before that tyme. And menne
say, that in other countreys dyuers
monasteries be lyke to breake hospita-
litie/bicause theyr offringes be not
the thyrde parte so moche as they
were accustomed. For in dede nowe
a dayes mens deuocion waxeth euen
as colde, as the mounkes be in the
quyer at midnyght. that commodi-
tie had Rome by myn absence. And
yet after my pilgrimage done, I had

B

for

PASQVILL.

for mi trouth & plainnesse as moch p
done of god, as if I had bylded one
cloyster in Rome, and an other in Pa
rise, & put into eueryche of them an
hundred friers cōuentuals. And yet
were that a blessed dede, if the lawe
were not agayne increfing of valiant
beggars. But to my pourpose. If
these men that we spake of had wy
sely & coldly expended and tried my
wordes, that they called raylinge,
many thinges mought haue ben pre
uented, that were after lamented.
Germany shulde not haue kicked a
gayne her mother: Emperours and
princis shuld not haue ben in perpe
tual discorde, & often tymes in peril/
prelates haue ben laughed at, as dis
sardes: saynctes blasphemed, and
miracles reprobued for iougglynges/
lawes and statutes contemned, and
officers littell regarded. What must
nedes folowe, sens my breth faileth
me? I leue that to the Gnatho to
coniect,

coniect/ for thou arte wyse inoughe
to consider. GNA. I knowe what
thou meanest, but a selyshyp leaue
thy bourdinge and currishe philoso-
phie/ sene it is neyther profitable/ ple-
sant, nor thankesfull. Who wolde be
so madde to driue about a myll, and
is sure/ that all the meale/ that he
gryndeth, shall fall on the floore: sa-
uinge a litle mylduste, that shall flie
into his eien, and put hym to payne,
and perchaunce make hym blynde?
And thou studyest to speake many
good wordes, whiche be lost in the
rushes: and if any yll meaning may
be pycked out, it is caste in thy nose
to put the in daunger. Lese no more
laboure Pasquyll/ but folowe my
counsaylle: and if within two yeres
thou be not newe paynted and gylt/
and haue mo men wondryng at the,
than at any other ymage in Rome,
by my trouthe I wyll stande in the
rayne and sonne as longe as thou

B 2

haste

PASQUILL.

haste done, and yet it were an vnreasonable wager. P A S. Go to, let se what is thy counsaill? G N. Mary I wyll telle the. Thou haste a very sharpe wytte and a redy: wherfore thou arte mete for the worlde. And pitie it were, that such a iewel shuld be neglected. P A S. And pitie hit were, that suche a flaterer as thou art, shulde longe be vnchanged. But passe on a goddis name. G N A. I wist well, that in suche a frowarde piece of tymber I shulde lose moche labour: yet wyll I proue, if good counsaylle may warke any thinge in the. Nowe here Pasquill what I say. By thy longe railinge, thy wyt is well knowne. Nowe tourne the lese. And whā thou herist any thing purposed by them, whom thou hast offendid, what so euer it be, affirme it to be well, and therewith auance the wytte and intent of the persone that spake it, which thou mayst do
ex.

excellētly wel. For he that can dispise
spytesfully, can if he liste, prayse and
comende also incomparably. And if
thou canste not refrayne from rebu-
kinge and tauntinge: practise thy na-
turall fury and woodenesse agayne
them/that repugne agayne the saide
purpose. And where thou dyddest
wonder to see me haue in my hande
the Newe testamēt, if thou woldist
do the same / and nowe in thyn age/
laye apart the lesson of gentiles, cal-
led humanite, sens thou mayst haue
good leysour / beinge not yet called
to counsaile, pike out here and there
sentences out of holy scripture / to
fournyshe thy reason with autho-
ritie. I make god auowe, thou shalt
be within thre monethes able to con-
founde the greatest diuine in al Ita-
lie. And whan thy conuersion and
good opinion is knowen, than shalt
thou be called fore. But than alway
remembre, howe so euer the tenour

PASQVILL.

bell ryngeth, he ryngeth alwaye in tune, and though he iarre somewhat, yet thou canst not here it, his sounne is so great, and thine eares be so lytell. And if other men synde it, saye that it is no faulte, but a quauer in musike, and became the bell, if they had the witte to perceyue it. I teache the in parables, for this crafte wolde not be opened to euery man: for it shulde not be for my profyte: but thy subtil wyt comprehendeth all that I mene, thou art so acquainted with all our experience. P A S. Now on my feith wel said. I coude not haue founden a craftier knaue to lerne of betwene this and Hierusalem. But who cometh here? He seemeth a reuerede psonage, he is none of thy sort I trowe? G N. By god we be cosen germanes remoued, I by the mother syde, and he bi the father. And that caused me to speke so moche and hym so litle, and yet is there

there smalle diuerſite betwene oure
 condicions ? P A S . What meanest
 thou therby ? G N A . For we both
 haue one maister. And whan he ſpea
 kethe or doeth any thyng for his
 pleasure : I studye with wordes to
 commende it. If my couſeyn ſtande
 by, he ſpeketh littell or nothyng, but
 formynge his viſage in to a grauitie
 with ſilence / loketh as if he affirmed
 all thyng, that is ſpoken . P A S .
 What is his name ? G N . Diapoc
 crates . P A S . That is a hard name
 by Jeſus. But why holdeth he his
 ſynger at his mouthe . G N A . For
 he hath eſpyed me talkynge / and
 bycauſe he weneſh, that I ſpeke to
 moche, he maketh a ſygne / that I
 ſhulde ceſſe : but I am gladde, that
 I haue met with hym . Loſin Diapoc
 crates I haue ſought for you this
 two houres . P A S . Why ſpeketh
 he not ? G N . O that is his grauitie
 to pauſe a whyle or he ſpeke / he lerned

ned it whan he was student at Bonony. HARPO. What is the matter Gnato? GN. My lord whan he hath dyned/wyll sytte in counsayl about waightie causes. HAR. And whan I haue dyned, I wil gyue attendaunce. PAS. Lo is it not as I sayde, a wonder to se this worlde? In olde tyme men vsed to occupie the moynynge in deepe & subtile studies and in counsailes concernynge the comune weale, and other matters of great importaunce. In like wise than to here controuersies, and gyue iudgement. And if they had any causes of theyr owne / than to treate of them. and that dydde they not without a great consyderation. procedynge bothe of naturall rayson, and also counsaile of phisike. And after diner they refreshed their wittes, eyther with instrumentes of musike, or with redynge or heringe some pleasant storie, or beholdinge
some

some thyng delectable and honest.
And after they: diner was digested,
than cyther they exercysed them
selfes in rydyng, runnyng on fote/
shoting, or other like pastime, or wër
with they: haukes to se a flighte at
the ryuer or wolde se they: grehou
des course the hare, or the dere: whi
che they dydde as well to recreate
they: wyttes, as also to gette them
good appetite. But now all this is
toured into an other fascion, god
helpe vs, the worlde is almost at an
ende: For after noone is toured to
fore noone, vertue into vice vice into
vertue, deuociõ into hypocrisie, and
in some places men saye, saythe is
toured to herisye. Dyd I not now
say well at the begynnynge. That it
is a wonder to see this worlde?

HAR. Dem Pasquillus. PAS.

Wel, ye thynke as moche as I speke
for all your poynting and wyinking.

HAR. But in silēce is suretie. PAS.

B s

Per

PASQVILL.

perchaunce may. If I perceyuedde
one at thy backe with a swerde dra-
wen/ redy to strike the/ woldest thou
that I shulde holde my peace/ or els
telle the: HARPOCAT. Naye,
sylence were than oute of season.

PASQILLVS. Nowe well fare
you for your balde reason, a manne
maye see what wysedome there is
in youre compendious speakeinge/
ye wyll season sylence. Manye I
wene my lorde shulde haue a better
coke of you than a counsayllour.

GNATO. Deace hooreson, he is
also my lordes confessor. PASQ.
For his sylence he maye be. But
yet I doubte me: for I remembre
what thou saydest whyle ere/ that
whan ye were presente bothe with
youre mayster, if thou commendest
his sayenges or doynge/ this man
wolde approue it with sylence and
countenaunce/ whiche mought doo
more harme, thanne all thy flattery,
than

than what mischief mought follow
of his damnable sylence / if in the se-
crete tyme of confession / wherin con-
fessours haue aboue all men most lar-
geste lybertie to blame and reprove,
he shulde eyther dissemble the vices
that he knoweth in his mayster, or
els forbere to declare to him the enor-
mitie of suche capytall synnes as he
hath confessed. GN. By my trouthe
thou art a busy fellow doest thou re-
membere / what thou saydest / whan
thou dydest espie that I had a booke
of the Newe Testament. PASQ.
What sayd I? GNA. Wary this
thou saydest, that some wolde be in
the bowels of diuinite, or they know
what belongeth to good humanite.
Nowe thou takest thy selfe by the
nose: for without hauyng regard to
whom thou speakest, thou presumest
to teche this worshypful man what
he shal do in confession. PAS. It is
wel raysoned of you by swete saynt
Ronyon

PASQVILL.

Ronyon: ye define teaching/ as wel
 as he dyd season his sylence. Didest
 thou here me teache hym, what he
 shulde do? Nay and if thou hast so
 moche witte to remembre, vpon the
 wordes that thou thy self spakest/ I
 declared what incōueniēce mought
 happen by the flaterynge silence of
 a cōfessour: weneest thou that I was
 neuer confessed? yes I haue tolde a
 tale to a frier or this tyme, with a
 grote in my hande, and haue ben as-
 soyled forthwith without any fur-
 ther rehersall: where if a poore mā
 had tolde halfe so moche, he shulde
 haue ben made equall to the diuell,
 and haue ben so chidde / that whan
 he hadde gone from confession, he
 shulde haue hanged doune the eres,
 as if he had ben lerninge of pricke-
 songe. All be it, it is the custome of
 some of you/ that be courtiares, whā
 ye can not defend your matter with
 raison/ to embraide hym that spea-
 keth

keth with presumption, treson, mis-
 prison/or such other like praty mo-
 selles, to stoppe hym of talkynge.
 But betwene two men full of wor-
 des, trouthe shall neuer or late be e-
 spied: wherfore I wil no more Ena-
 tho meddle with the, but from hens
 forth I wyll speke to Hapocrates:
 for if he can perswade me / that his
 silence is better than my babblynge,
 I wyll folowe his doctrine rather
 than thyn/for I haue professed from
 my chyldehode neuer to speke in er-
 nest to my mayster or frende, contra-
 rye to that, that I thynke. GNA.
 Ergo thou haste professed to stande
 styl in the rayne/and ones perchance
 to be throwen in to Tyber, or broke
 in pieces. PAS. And perchaunce if
 god neuer lyed, I may be in the pa-
 laice mery, whan suche as thou art
 shal sit without on a ladder/ & make
 all thy frendes soye. Herdest thou
 neuer, that the worlde is roude/and
 there

PASQVILL.

therfore it is euer tournynge, nowe
the w:onge side vpwarde, an other
tyme the ryghte, but lette this passe.
I praye the Harpocrates teache me
howe thou doest season thy sylence,
doest thou hit with salte or with
spyes? HARPOCRA. Naye,
with sugar, for I vse lyttell salte.
PAS. And that maketh your coun-
sayl more swete than sauery. HAR-
POCRA. ye speke lyke a poticary.
PASQVILL. And I haue knowen
a wyse poticarie done moche more
good if he were trusted, than a so-
lysshe phisition. But nowe to thy
silence that thou so moche praysest
Harpocrates, Thou saydest that in
sylence was suretie. And I asked,
If I perceiued one at thy back with
a sworde drawen redy to strike the,
whither shuld I speke or kepe silēce?
And thou answeredst / that silence
was than out of season. HARPO.
So sayd I. PAS. I can the thāke,
thou

thou abidest by thy word: although
at this day, that be accomted no po
lycie. But why saidest thou, that si
lence were than out of season? H A R.

For I mought be sore hurt, or per
châce kylled, if I were not thã war
ned, myn enmy beinge so nygh me.

P A S Q. ye: I wiste well / that ye
wold not be slayn / nor yet wouëd,
if ye mought haue rome ynough to
rône, or your long clothie did not let
you. But I put case I knewe, that
your enmie were at your chamber
dore / or let it be further / at Doytiers
in France, who had auowed to see
you & were in his iournay towarde
you, but whan or where he wolde
strike you, I know not: shuld I forth
with warne you, or els kepe silence
yntill I sawe his sworde ouer your
heed redi to kyl you, that I mought
keepe silence all waye in season?

H A R. No that were no frendshyp
but rather traision, to knowe me to
be

be in suche perylle, and to hyde hit from me, that there were no meane to escape but only by fortune. P A S. What no lasse than trayson? Peace ye ar yet no pope, and bycause ye be a preeſte ye be exempted from being emperour. H A R. Haſt thou any other terme more propre, where a man consenteth to the destruction of his frende, whiche ſpecially truſteth hym? P A S. By my trouthe nay, if I ſhall not lie: but nowe I am glad that I haue ſounde you, yet will I a litle better aſſaye you. If I ſawe your couſen Gnatho put poyſon into a cuppe of wyne ſecretely, and brynge it vnto you, ſhulde I holde my pece, or els tel you? G N. Mary I deſie the, thou knoweſt not me to be of ſuche diſpoſicion. P A S Q. What? ye be of a very colerike complexion: what art thou the warſe, that I name the herein for an example? If by the waye of argument,
and

and to make the offence the more horrible, I wolde put for the case / that Pope Adriane the fourth were poysoned by one of his cardinales, bycause he wolde haue minysshed they: maiestie, and haue broughte them to humblenes. Perdye this were no blasphemy. GNA. There is in thy raylinge none harmony.

PAS. No / for therein is no flattery. But Harpocrates that with thy sobresylence mockest vs bothe / what sayst thou to my question? HARP. Nowe on my fayth thou arte a merry companyon. PASQ. ye good ynough / whan ye haue nothinge left to saue with your honestie / than ye bringe forthe that merry conclusion: but saye on, woldest thou than, that I shulde kepe silence or no? Admitte the case to be true, though Gnatho be angrie. HAR. Kepe silence than quod a / nay by the saythe of my bodye. PAS. So I thought, excepte
L ye

ye bewery of worldly wor:ship/and
be nowe contented to die and let o-
ther men steppe in to your rowmes,
and take peynes for you: but ye say,
that sylence were than out of selson?

HAR. By saynt Johñ yee. PAS.

And for what cause tel me your rai-
son? HAR. Wary for: if thou did-
dist not warne me, I mought be de-
ceyued by hym/ that I trusted/ and
drynke poyson in the stede of wyne:
wherof I shulde eyther be deed, or
fall in to suche sickenes and brekinge
out, that all men shuld abho:re me.

PASQ. I wolde to god/ that thou
woldest affirme alway truthe to thy
maister, as thou doest nowe to me.
But Harpocrates thou woldest not
die/ nor yet lyue to be abho:red of
al men: therin I can preise the. Now
sens thou arte a ch:risten man (as I
suppose) and also lerned/ woldeste
thou/ that any warse thinge shulde
happen to thy maister, that trusteth
the,

the/than thou woldest to thy selfe?

HAR. No truely. PAS. And if thou knewest any daunger towarde hym, as J haue reherfedde / thou oughtest as wel to warne hym of it, as J ought the. HAR. can not denie that. PAS. And also thou woldest.

HAR. Why, wherfore shuld J not?

PAS. For perauenture if your maister mistrusteth him not / that hath euowed to kyll hym / & accompted your tale for a fantasie / or if he fauoureth hym moche, that ye knowe wold poyson hym: he will suppose, that ye tell it hym of some suspicion or malice, and will leane a deafe eare toward you. And thā he, on whom ye complayned, beinge aduertised / shall omitte that, whiche he purposed, to proue you a liar. And than shulde ye bothe lese your thankc of your frende, and be called a detractour: and also haue hym, whom ye accused, and all his bende, vigilant

PASQVILL.

espialles to brynge you in daunger,
 is it not thus? HAR. ye sy: by Je-
 sus. PAS. What if a nother man/
 whiche loueth your maister no lasse
 than ye doo: gaue hym suche war-
 ninge, and ye knewe hit to be true:
 but ye perceyue, that your maister
 listeth not to here of suche mater: or
 perchaunce commendeth hym/whi-
 che is complayned on: wolde ye al-
 so preyse hym, to support the truste
 that your maister hath in hym, or
 commende your maister therin, for
 his constance and littell mistrusting?
 HAR. Nay than were I worthy a
 hote mischiefing, if I wold helpe to
 bringe so my maister vnto his confu-
 sion. PAS. What, wolde you hold
 your tunge, & say nothing? HAR.
 No, out I wolde forbere for a time,
 and awayte diligently, to see if the
 perille wolde cesse: or mought be by
 some occasion preuented: or by my
 maister other wise spied: but whan
 hit

it were imminent, thanne wolde I
giue warninge. P A S. Imminent,
what calle ye that? H A R. Whan
his ennemie is at his backe with his
swoorde drawen redy to strike him.
P A S. And what for: poysonnynge?
H A R. Whan I sawe my frende
haue the cuppe in his hande redy to
drynke. P A S. Nowe gate ye all
this witte withoute any lernynge?
It is not for: nought that ye be a cou
saillour, sens ye haue suche a praty
feate in seasonynge a lykelyhode ye
be well sene in predestination, and do
knowe perfectly the subtile distincti-
ons of tymes & momentes, ye wold
forbeare to warne your maister at
the begynnynge of daungier, and
whan he is at the poynt to fall in to
it, perchaunce o: ye shall not be pre-
sent, o: els not able o: of powar to
resiste it: but teache me I pray you,
what ye calle imminent, for: hit is a
woorde taken out of latine, and not

PASQVILL.

cōmenly vsed. HARP. Mary the thinge that is imminent/ is whan it appereth to be in the instante to be done or to happen : and after some mens exposition/ as hit thertned to come. PAS. It is well expounded and clerkly. Than if ye wyll diuide the tyme into instantes/ bicause perchance ye be a good Duns man : the instante whan it appereth / that your frende shall be slayne/ and the instante whan he is in sleinge, be not one/ but those instauntis be diuerse. No: the acte is not in one poynte/ whan it is thretened, and whan it is in doinge. Wherfore whan there is a sworde drawen at your frendes backe/ redye to kylle hym/ or youre frende hath a cuppe with poyson in his hande redy to drinke : the perille is not now imminent, that is to say, to be done, or to happen : but it is in the instant of doinge or happening. Neyther hit threteth / but is at the
very

very poynt of executing. Wherfore
 there is repugnancie in your owne
 reſoninge if this worde, Imminent,
 be truly expounded. HARPO. yea
 that may not be denyed, it hath ben
 ſo long by noble authours approued.
 PAS. Than reſorte to your ſyſte
 aſſercion. Whan the perylle were
 imminent/than wolde ye gyue war-
 nyng: and hit ſoloweth, that than
 ſilence were out of ſeaſon. HAR.
 ye truly. PAS. Ergo ſpeche were
 than in good ſeaſon as not this your
 cōcluſion? HAR. Thou hittelt it as
 iuſte as maye be deuysed. PASQ.
 What before and after this inſtant?
 HAR. Speche is vnprofitable: be-
 fore/to hym that ſpeketh/as I haue
 reherſed: after, to hym, whiche is
 ſpoken vnto. So: where may be no
 longer defence / or: reſiſtence, ſpeche
 nothing auailleth. PA. ye thought
 all this while that in maynteyninge
 your ſilence ye had reprobued my li-

bertie of speche/ whiche ye calle bablynge. And that ye had apointed a tyme of silence and spekinge/ whiche ye thoughte that I lacked. Nowe beholde Harpocrates how in the tyme to speke ye and I haue all this while agreed. And in the two instantes, wherewith ye season your sylence, if we two disagree: se that it is bycause ye erre so moche frome natural reson. H A R. Howe proue ye that? P A S. Euen by your owne conclusion. H A R. Maye ye can not brynge that to passe for all your subtile inuention. P A S. well/ I wil do what I can. And I trow, ye will not deme me, if ye be not of the condicion of some men, whiche by no reason wyll be remoued from theyr owne opinion. But nowe to the mater. Thou saidest at the first/ that if thyne ennemye stode at thy backe with his sworde drawe to sle the, thou woldest than be warned/

lesse

leste thou moughtest be sore hurt, or
perchance killed, whiche all though
it were folishely spoken of so great a
lerned man (as who sayth thyn en-
emie coulde not flee the / excepte he
stode at thy backe, and hadde his
sworde drawen.) yet in the speking
haue we two accorded. But to your
owne sayinge ye haue repugned :
wheré ye sayde / that in silence was
suretie. But to excuse that / ye dydde
season your silence : that is to saye,
puttinge to time : which vndouted-
ly is an holsome herbe and a sauery:
and than ye were contente to warne
your frende / whan the perill were
imminet. And that terme ye expou-
ned thus : whan the thinge apperid
to be in the instante to be done or to
happen : and as it were thretned to
come. And herevpon ye grounded
your conclusion, that speche were
than in good season. Whiche argu-
ment I wyll not denye / for I haue

L s

ben

ben alwaye of the same opinion.
 But nowe remembre your gramer,
 and consider that the said definition
 is in the future tyme, that is to saye,
 the thyng / whiche is imminent is
 to be done here after / and not in do-
 inge, whiche is the presente tyme.
 Than whither your maisters enne-
 my be at his backe, or at Poyters in
 France, as I sayde at the first, if ye
 know, that he purposeth to sle him:
 than it appereth to you, that the kil-
 ling of your maister is in the instat
 to be done / and is th:etned to happè,
 ergo the perille is imminent, and ye
 are boude to gyue your frende war-
 ninge. H A R. Perchaunce I maye
 knowe a thinge / and yet it appereth
 not to me, and than your argument
 auayleth not an herryng. As I may
 knowe by other mennes tellynge, or
 by coniecture of a lyght suspicion.
 P A S. May than shall we haue mo-
 che a do with you / if ye wyl compel
 me

me of euery worde that I speke, to make definition. Thoughe I haue not so moche lernyng as you, I vse alwaye my wordes in theyr propre signification, and to serue to the matter that I reason vnto. I knowe a thyng/whiche by a cause I consider eidentely. And that whiche is onely reported, I doo here/ but I knowe not: but coniecture is by signes, resemblaunce, or likelyhoode, whiche may be false: and yet is hit not to be neglected, as it shal appere afterwarde. But now retourne we to knowlege, whiche beinge certein/ as I haue defined hit, as soone as thou knowest that one wyll kille or poyson thy maister, the perill is imminent: than by thyn owne reason, thou oughtest to warne him: if not, thou art by thin owne sentence condemned of treason. H A R. Thou sayest soore to me Pasquill. Not withstandyng yet me semethe: I
shuld

shulde not warne hym so soone/for
 the daungers, whiche thou reher-
 siddest, mought happen vnto me, if
 I lacked a thankfull and secrete he-
 rer, or els the purpose were chaun-
 ged: but it were better to tary/vntil
 it came to suche preparacion/that it
 moughte not be denied. P A S. So
 mought it be, if ye were partner of
 the conspiracie/for: than mought ye
 happè to be made priuie to the tyme
 whan/ & the place, where that your
 maister shulde stande in suche ieopar-
 die: but els ye mought know of such
 a thinge purposed/ & yet be not sure
 of the tyme, whan it shulde be exe-
 cuted. Than if ye forbare to warne
 your maister vntil the perill mought
 be more euidente, and as ye saye/
 moughte not be denied: before that
 tyme it mought be more than immi-
 nent, and in the seconde instant, that
 is to saye in the selfe doynge/ or to
 speke hit more clenly, in execution.
 Har.

H A R. But than were I out of daunger. P A S. ye / that is all that ye care for: yet moughte ye happen to be deceyued / and your silence in stede of suertie tourne you to trouble. For seldome is the maister in ieopardie / and the seruantes at libertie / specially they whiche be next about hym: O: if ye happen to escape enemies, if it may be perceyued / that ye knewe of the perile, and wold not discouer it / ye shulde perchance escape hardly the halter, though ye had shaken of all your longe robes / and were but in a ierkynne. yet if ye warned youre mayster at the begynnynge / though he toke it not thankfully / yet did you your duetie / & can not lacke rewarde of god, who loueth truthe, for your fidelitie. And though he, whom ye disapoynted / o: his affinitie, shall seke howe to be auenged on you: either god wyll defende you, o: if there fall to you thereby any aduersite

uersitie, finally falsehode longe kepte
 in/ wyll braſte oute at the laſte/ and
 than ſhal repentance cauſe your ſim-
 plicite to be had in renome and per-
 petual memorie: whiche parte of ho-
 nour to euery honeſt man paſſeth al
 other rewarde, that may be gyuen
 in this lyfe/ that is tranſitorie. But
 bicauſe we ſpake while ere of conie-
 ctur. If by ſignes & liklihoodes, depe-
 ly cōſidered without malice or other
 vicious affection, ye do comect that
 your maſter is in peril. Although ye
 be not to moche bounden to tel him/
 as it ye knewe it: yet if ye tell it hym
 with your coniecture/ ye ſulfill more
 the partes of a good ſeruaunt than
 he that hath the ſame cōiecture, and
 ſpeketh nothinge. So: if that thing
 happen not, that ye miſtruſted: the
 cauſe is to be referred to god: but
 the ſyignes and likelihoodes oughte
 not for all that to be an nother tyme
 deſpiſed: and your care and loue to-
 warde

warde your maister are to be highly commended. If it do happen, thā your diligence and studie are to be extolled. HAR. By the saithe of my body thou hast reasoned cunninggly.

PAS. That cunningg I neuer lerned in scooles, but by longe obseruacion and markyng of other mennes folly.

HAR. But Pasquill though in perilles concerninge mans lyfe, speche may be preferred somtyme befoze silence. It concludeth not, that it shall be so in all other thinges. PAS. To

byng the to this point haue I made all this longe babblyng. Esteemest thou life more thanne good renome, or the welthe of thy countraye? for the which so many puissant and noble princis, so many wise and excellent philosophers haue leste they: liues willingly, who gladly wyl leue a better thyng for a warse? Except for wantonnesse, or for the newe faction. Is any dethe so moche to be

o: adde

PASQVILL.

dead as perpetuall infanie, the sub-
 uersion of the common weale, or v-
 niuersall destruction of all the hoole
 countrey? whiche to escape or resist,
 many valiant knightes, honorable
 matrones / and chaste damoysselles
 haue offred them selves to the deth.
 And who refuseth the lasse payne to
 can hym selfe in to the gretter tour-
 nement? Or doest thou esteeme the deth
 of the soule to be of lasse importance
 than the dethe of the bodye? What
 sayst thou? that iugement belongeth
 to thy faculte. H A R. In dede there
 yetouche me. P A S. Like wyse, a
 knecke on the heed, though it be to
 the soull, is not so daungerous to be
 healed as an yuell affection thraсте in
 to thy maisters braynes by false opi-
 nion. Nor a wipe ouer his face with
 a sworde, shal not blemmishe so mo-
 che his visage, as vice shal defo:me
 his soule & deface his renome / wher-
 by he is further knowen than by his
 phiso-

phisonomy. Is there any poison can make him to be so abhorred of man/ as avarice, tyranny, or bestly lyeinge shall cause hym be hated of god and of man vniuersally? HAR. No in good saythe, I thynke thou sayste truely. PAS. Than cōferre all this together, with that whiche we before raysoned/ and se where in any thyng that thy maister speaketh or doeth/ if there be any of the perilles iminent, which I late reherfed: whether it were better to speke or kepe silence, and in whiche of them were most suretie. And consider also/ that bytwene these two perilles, that I haue reherfed, is no littell diuersitie, besydes that the one is moche more than the other. For in the bodyl ye perill, in the tyme of the stroke perchance your maister wolde here you & therby escape, or ye mought defende him: but the other perill of soule or mynde/ the longer that he

D

con.

continueth therein, the more gladly
 he receyueth the stroke / & the more
 he wyll disdayne to be warned by
 you: and than ye putte your selfe in
 more daunger of that which we
 spake of before: but so: al that ney-
 ther in tyme of daunger thou ough-
 test to leaue thy mayster vnwarned,
 which thou hast all redy graunted:
 no: yet whan thy maister is striken
 or poysoned, speche is vnprofitable
 as thou hast supposed. H A R. Now
 proue you that? S o: if ye be a sur-
 geon/ye know it must be your dedes
 and not your wordis, that must help
 hym. P A S. Now it is wel remem-
 bred/ye shall haue goddes blessinge.
 I neuer herd a more foole by my ho-
 lydome doeth a surgeon all his cure
 with playsters and instrumentes?
 somtyme he speketh also/ or if he be
 domme, one speaketh for hym/ and
 telleth his pacient, what metes and
 dyunkes be ynholosome / which be
 leui-

leuitiues and helpeth his medicine.
 Also whan he perceiueth him to be
 saynte or discomforted / than with
 swete wordes and faire promises he
 reuiueth his courage. If he be dis-
 obedient or riottouse, he rebuketh
 hym / and do aggrauate the daunger
 to make the sickenes more greuous.
 And perdie Vnatho named you to
 be your maysters philicion : whan
 he said, that ye were his confessor.
 For a confessor serueth for none o-
 ther purpose, but to cure mans soule
 of deedly synnes which be hir mor-
 tal diseases : can ye do that without
 speakynge ? Also ye sayde / where
 mought be no longer resistance / spe-
 che nothyng auaylled : I wene ye
 said truer than ye were ware. For
 whan Vnatho with his flateri / and
 ye with your silence haue ones roo-
 tid in your maisters hart false opini-
 ons, & vicious affectis / whiche is the
 poyson, that we so moche spake of,

D 2 though

though ye after repent you / and perceyue the daunger, yet shall it perchance be impossible with speche to remoue those opinions / & cure those affectis / except ye loued so well your maister / that for his helthe ye wolde confesse your owne errours . GNA. May goddis body, so mought we get for our selfe a paye of tariars . PAS. Well it were better tary, than runne to the dyuell with your maister / or that good renoume shulde runne away from hym . But tell me Harpocrates as thou thinkest, were not speche now expedient? or howe mought thy master be otherwise curid? with silēce trowist thou? HAR. It semeth that silence shuld nothing profite, nor speche shulde any thinge auaille / if the opinions and affectes be so impressed / that they can not be removed . PAS. yet agayne, if ye speke no wiseliar to your maister / than ye do to me, he hath of you a wor:

worshypful couſaylour. I demaunde
of you remedie to cure wronge opi-
nions/ and vicious affectio : and ye
answere me/ that neyther speche nor
silence is profitable. Like as if I had
asked counsaile of a phisition, what
thing wold hele me/ of my sickenes,
& he wold say/ that gyuing to me me-
dicine, or gyuing me none, shuld not
auayle me. H A R P. Spake I not
welle, where I synde no remedie?
P A S. No, and ye loke wisely. For
and if ye remembre/ I dyd not affir-
me expressely, that hit shulde be im-
possible to remoue false oppinions
or vicious affectes, where they were
impressed : but I ioyned therto per-
adventure/ and also an exception/ if
ye/ that induced them, confessed not
your owne errour. Than if your cō-
fession moughte cure them, speche
were than not vnprofitable. And if
your owne confession auaylid not,
sens I affirmed not expressely/ that

D 3 the

the sayd diseases were incurable: if
 neyther silence / nor speche shulde be
 profitable / what shulde than be the
 remedie? HAR. I can not tell, ex-
 cepte it were grace. PAS. I herde
 the neuer speke so wisely. But yet
 supposhest thou, that grace wyll so
 lightly entre / where false opinion
 and vicious affectes be so depely im-
 printed / excepte they be syfste some
 what remoued by good perswasio?
 onles thou thinkest, that euery man
 shall be called of god, as saint Paule
 was, who was elected. And yet
 now I remember me, at his conuer-
 sion Ch:ist spake vnto hym, & tolde
 hym, that it was herde to spurne a-
 gayne the pricke: where if Ch:iste
 had holde his peace. Saule whiche
 was thanne beaten downe to the
 ground, moughte haue happened
 neuer to haue ben calledde saynete
 Paule: but if he hadde eskap'd / he
 wold by likelyhode haue continued

D 4 still

styll in his errour. H A R. It is not
fo: vs Pasquil to inferche the impe-
netrable iugementes of god: but the
grace of god hath happened farre
aboue mennea expectation: & where
all other remedie lacked. For than
the puissance of all myghty god is
specially proued. P A S. But tru-
stinge onely therin, to leue our owne
indeuour, I thinke it presumption.
And what indeuour maye be in sy-
lence? Wherfore speche is not onely
profitable but also of necessite muste
be vsed in healing the diseases both
of the soule & also the bodie. H A R.
I can not denie that, if I say truly.
P A S. Than whan is your silence in
season? H A R. I can not shortly tel
I am so abashed at thy froward rea-
son. P A S. Than wyll I helpe you
to knowe your owne vertue, wher-
in ye haue suche delectatiō. I trowe
ye herde not, howe I did expounde
the sentence of Aeschylus, whiche
Gna

PASQVILL.

Snatho rehersed to me for a coun-
sayle? H A R. yes that I dydde, for
I stode all that whyle at the wyn-
dowe herkenyng of the. P A S. Se
howe full the world is of suche false
ymages that do here all, whan they
seme to here nothyng: as I truste to
be saued, with suche felowes hit is
perillous dealing. But yet that shal
not cause Pasquill to leaue his bab-
linge. Nowe Harpocrates / beare
away the sayde sentence with myne
exposition / and vse it. H A R. So I
wyll, as moche as pertayneth to sy-
lence. P A S. ye god a vow and also
to spekyng, or els all the counsayle
is not worth thre halspens. Think
ye to be a counsaylour / and speake
not: What were the Emperour the
better, if in stede of counsaylours he
had set in his Chamber the ymages
of Lato, Metellus, Lelius, Cicero /
and suche other persones, who ly-
uinge / ferre excelled in witte, experi-
ence /

ence/and lerninge, them, whiche be
nowe about hym? be men that sytte
and speake nothyng, any better
than they? No, but rather moche
warfe: for they serue for nothyng,
yet the ymages do that, wherfore
they be ordeyned, that is to saye,
bringe to mens remembrance the wise
dom and vertu of them, whom they
represented. But dūme counsaillours
do not they: office, wherfore they be
called to counsayll, but by they: si
lence they cause many thynges to be
broughte to an vnluckye conclusion.

H A R. And thou that art nat called
to counsaile, arte full of bablyng.

P A S. But ones in a yere: and wo
tist thou why that is? H A R. Nay,

tell me I pray the. P A S. Wary if
they that be called, wolde alwaye
playe the partis of good Counsay
lours: And both spiritual and tem
porall gouernours wolde banyshe
the and Gnatho out of they: Cour

D s tes

tes/ except ye amende your condicions, I wolde speake neuer a worde, but sit as styll as a stone, like as ye seme: But for as moche as it hapneth all contrary, and that thynges be so farre out of frame/ that stones doo grutch at it (remembreth thou nat what a clatterynge they made at the laste warres in Italy?) and yet counsaillours be spechelesse: I that am set in the citie of Rome, whiche is the heed of the worlde, ones in the yere shal here of the state of al prcis and regions. And bicause in the moneth of Maie men be all set in pleasure/ than they take merili suche wordes as be spoken agayne them: thanne boldly I put forth my verdicte, and that openly. H A R. There thou doest folyshely: for thou shuldest do more good, if thou spakest priuily. P A S. Tuffe man, my playnnes is so well knowen / that I shall neuer come vnto priuie chamb:re or galeri.
Har.

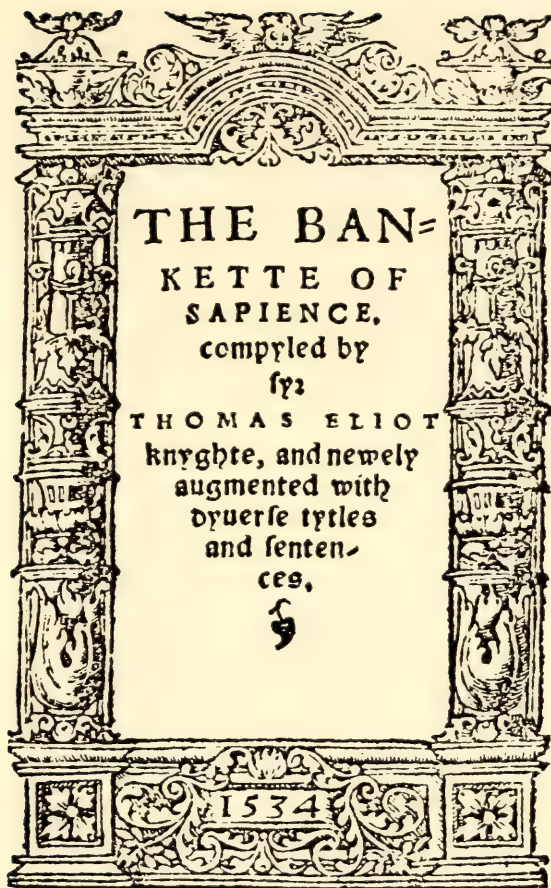
HAR. Sens thou profitest so lyttel,
why arte thou so busy. PAS. To
thintent that men shal perceiue, that
they: vices, whiche they thinke to
be wonderfull secrete / be knowen to
all men. And that I hope alwaye /
that by moche clamoure / and open
repentance, whan they see the thing
not succede to they: purpose / they
wyl be ashamed. HAR. yet mayst
thou happen to be deceiued. PAS.
But they moche more, whan they
know not who loueth them. GN.
Narpocrates, it is tyme that we re-
payre to the courte / lest we be bla-
med. And let vs leue Pasquill with
his praterie. PAS. And I wyl leue
you both with your flaterie. yet I
truste in god to see the daye, that I
wyll not set by the best of you both
a butterflye. As greatte a wonder
haue I sene er this tyme. HAR. P.
Fare well Pasquill, and thinke on si-
lence. PAS. Fare well Narpocra-
tes

PASQVILL.

tes/and thinke on thy conscience. I
wene I mought bie as moche of the
costerde monger for two pence.

Nowe whanne these two felowes
come to the court they wyll tell all
that they haue herde of me, it ma-
kith no mater. For I haue sayd no-
thyng, but by the waye of aduers-
tisement / withoute reprochyng of
any one person / wherwith no good
man hath cause to take any displea-
sure / Iudge what menne lyst / my
thought shal be free. And god / who
shall iudge al men / knoweth, that I
desire al thinges to be i good poynt,
so that I mought euer be specheles /
as it is my very nature to be. Adieu
gentil herers, and saye well by Pas-
quill whan he is from you.

CVM PRIVILEGIO.





TO THE KYNGE OVR MOST 103
gratious foueraigne lordc, the prologue
of syr Thomas Elyot knyght,
to the Bankette of
Sapience.



AFTER LONGE fasting
and also moche trauaylle, it
hath ben thought euer most
noble prince, not onely con-
uenient, but also to stande
with good reason, to haue a
dyner or supper prouyded
with meates suffycient, as well to recreate
the vrrall spirites, as to restore estefoones
the strength abated by labours. Whore ouer
in this tyme of the yere, called the sprynge
tyme, prouoked by the naturall beautie and
ioryous aspecte of the flouryshynge habyte
of this tēporall worlde, the nature of them,
in whom is any sparke of genryll courage,
requyreth to solace and bankette with mu-
tuall resoite, cōmunicatynge togither their
fantasyes and sondry deuyses, whiche was
not abhorred of the moste wyse and noble
philosophers, as may appere to them, that
haue witsaufed to rede the warkes of Pla-
to, Xenophon, and Plutarche, whiche they
named Symposia, called bankettes in En-
glyshe. Semblably I being styred most ex-
cellent Prince: by a lyke imitation, consides
A.ii. ryng

THE PROLOGVE.

ryng the longe abstinence ⁊ fastyng of this
 presente Lent, with also the contynuall tra-
 uayle that your hyghnes, your counsayle,
 and dyuers your subiectes haue sustayned
 in consultancyng about the weale publyke of
 this your gracies most noble realme, I haue
 prouyded this lyttell banket (so is this lytle
 treatise intituled) cōposed of sōdry wyse cōū-
 cels, gathered by me out of the warkes of
 moſte excellent persons, as wel faithfull as
 gentyles. And lyke as in this lustye tyme,
 thynges do appere in sondry dilectable co-
 lours and facions, so in this lytle boke shall
 your grace and other readers behold sen-
 tences sundry and dyuers, whiche I do ap-
 plye vnto bankettyng dishes, made and sea-
 soned by Sapience her self, and serued forth
 to the table by them, whiche dyd wyte or
 pronounce them. And as for me, I haue no
 more parte in the bankette, nor deserue any
 more praise therfore, than one of them that
 beareth a torche before euery course whan
 they come from the dresser: And yet where
 there is suche abundance, I may perchance
 for my labour haue the reuertion or scrap-
 pes of som of the dishes. Finally for asmuch
 as dyuers metes be of diuers qualities, som
 swete, some poynant, some aygre doulce: it
 shall be expedient, that euery dyshe of this
 banket, be througħly touched, doutyng not
 but

THE PROLOGVE.

but how so euer the tast shal content men, al
shalbe holsome, if they be wel masticate, and
not hastily deuoured. This litel warke with
my labors haue I dedicate vnto your high-
nes, vnto whom of bounden duetie beinge
your humble seruant, I owe al my studyes,
prayer, seruyce, z loyaltie, beseechinge your
grace to receyue this lyttell warke, as a to-
ken of my sincere mind z intent, accordinge
to your accustomed z incomparable gentyl-
nes. And for my part I shall dayly pray the
auctour z fountaine of sapience to preserue
your most royall person in the abundaunce
of his grace, to the comfort of your louing
subiectes.

¶ The table to this boke.

A		Quaryce.	cod.
A	Bestinēce. fo. 1.	B	
	Aduersite. eo.	¶ Bablynge,	fo. 6.
	Affectiō. fo. 2.	¶ Bartayle.	co.
Ambition.	cod.	¶ Benefite.	fo. 7.
Authoritie.	cod.	¶ Byshoppe.	cod.
Amitie.	fol. 3.	¶ Bostynge.	cod.
Apparayle.	co.	¶	
Almes deede.	fol. 4.	¶ Chastitie.	fo. 8.
Accusation.	eo.	¶ Charitie.	cod.
Arrogancy.	eo.	¶ Constancy.	cod.
Age.	fol. 5.	¶ Carnal appetite.	fo. 8.
		¶ Con.	

THE TABLE.

Consideration.	eod.	Foly.	eod.
Confession.	eo.	Flattery.	fo.18.
Contempt of world=		Fortitude.	eod.
ly thynges.	eod.	Fortune	fo.19.
Custome.	fo.9.	God.	fo.20.
Correction.	eod.	Gouernour.	eo.
Counsaile and coun=		Good men.	fol.21.
saylours.	fol.10.	Glory.	eod.
Communicatio.	fo.11.	Gluteny,	eo.
Crueltye.	eod.	Grace.	fo.22.
Curiosytie.	eo.	Humblenes.	eod.
Compassion.	fo.12.		et fo.23.
Deathe.	eod.	Haste.	fo.23.
Delicate liuing.	eod.	Honour.	eod.
Deceyte.	eo.	Hypocrisy.	eod.
Detraction,	eo.	All men.	fo.24.
Dronkennes.	fo.13.	Justice.	eod.
Disorde.	eo.	Judge.	fo.25.
Dignitie.	eod.	Judgement.	eo.
Dolour.	fo.14.	Ignorance.	fol.26.
Doctrine.	eo.	Ingratitude.	eo.
Dissimulation.	eo.	Idelnes.	eo.
Dyete.	fo.15.	Inordinate appetite.	
Ease.	eod.		fol.27.
Exemple.	eod.	Unkunnyng.	eo.
Enuy.	fo.16.	Unkyng.	fol.28.
Eloquence.	eo.	Lending and bo=	
Fame.	eod.	rowynge.	eod.
Fayth.	fo.17.	Losse of a frende or	
Fear.	eod.	of goodes.	eo.

THE TABLE.

Labour,	fo.29.	Prudence.	eod.
Lawe.	eod.	Promyse.	fo.38.
Lawes.	eo.	Pastime.	eod.
Lechery.	fo.30.	Publike weale.	eod.
Libertie.	eo.	¶ Quietnes of mind.	
Liberalitie.	eo.		fol. 39.
Life euerlastig,	fo.31.	¶ Reason,	eo.
Loyaltie.	eod.	Religion,	fo.40.
¶ Malice.	eod.	Repoite.	eo.
¶ Marriage.	eod.	Ryches,	eo.
¶ Mercy.	fo.32.	¶ Sapience.	fol.41.
¶ Manners of men,	eo.	Scripture.	eod.
¶ Nature.	fo.33.	Simplicitie or plainnesse,	fo.42.
Necessitie.	eod.	Syckenesse.	eo.
Nobilitie.	eod.	Superstition.	eod.
¶ Obstinacy,	fo.34.	Shamefastnes.	fo.43.
Obedience.	eo.	Silence.	eod.
¶ Pacience,	eo.	¶ Truthe.	eo.
Peace.	fo.35.	Temperance,	eo.
Periurie.	eod.	Talebearers.	fo.44.
Peryll.	eod.	¶ Vertue.	eod.
Pouertie.	fo.36.	Voluptuousnes.	f.45.
Prayer.	eod.	wyse.	eod.
Puissaunce,	eo.	Wayneglory.	eod.
Prodigalitie.	eod.	Virginie.	fo.46.
Prosperitie.	eo.	Wrathe.	eod.
Providence.	fo.37.		
Pryde.	eod.		

¶ FINIS TABVLE.

¶ THE INTRODVCTION.
to the Banquet.

Salomon.
Prouerbi.
CAP. 9.
CAP. I.



CAP. 8.

A piēce hath builded a house
for her selfe, she hath prepa-
red her wine & laide forth her
table, she calleth out abroad
in the stretes, & in the chiefe
assembly of people, and at the
gates of the cytie she speketh with a loude
voice: Ye babies, how long wil ye delyte in
your chylde shynes? And how longe wyl foo-
les couete those thynges whiche shall hurt
thē? And they which lacke wit hate know-
lege & lernyng? Come on & eate ye mi brede
& drike my wyne that I haue ordeined now
for you. To me do belōg Couſayll & equitie.
min is prudence, & min also fortitude. By me
kyngeſ do reign, & makers of lawes do de-
termyne those thynges that be ryght wyſe.
By me pryncis do gouerne, & mē in autorite
do giue ſentence accordyng to iuſtice. I loue
them that loue me, & they that wake erely
ſhal finde me, with me do remaine both ſub-
ſtāce & renoume, ſtately richesse, & Juſtice,
my fruyte doth excell gold & ſtones p̄cious,
and my branches are better than ſyne tryed
ſiluer, my walkes be in the high waies of iu-
ſtice, & in the middel of the pathes of iuge-
ment, to the intēt that I wil make thē ryche
that do loue me, and ſil vp theiſ treasures.

ABSTINENCE.



YNG AND youthe is a Hieronimus.
double flame of carnall
desyre.

That manne seldome Gregori⁹.
falleth into thinges vn-
lesfull, which in thinges
lesfull can some tyme re-
frayne.

A man shuld so knowe the craft of cons-
tinance, that therewith he maye flee the vi-
ces of the body, and saue well his person.

Nature is content with a fewe thynges Seneca,
and lyttel, whose contentation if thou doste
oppresse with excelle, that which thou ea-
test shalbe vnto the vnpleasaunt or hurtful.

Better is a man pacient than strong, and Salomon.
he that may stretch his wyll, surmounteth a
conquerour.

ADVERSITIE,

THE potters vesselle is tryed in the Salomon.
fourneyse, and good men be proued
in tyme of aduersitie.

Hide thy my fortune, that thyn ennemy Periander
reioyce not.

There is nothing so greuous, but an vp Seneca.
right

BANKET OF

ryght mynd maye fynde therin solace.

Seneca,

¶ In all thy troubles remembre this reason, hard thynges may be molified, straye thynges maye be loused, and heuy thynges shall lyttell greue them that can handsomly beare it.

Paulus,

¶ Trouble is cause of pacience, pacience maketh profe, profe bringeth in hope, hope is neuer rebuked.

¶ Why chyld neglecte not goddis correction, but whanne he doothe punyſhe the, thyinke it not tedꝝouse, for whom god looeth, hym wꝑll he chastise.

Augustin^o

¶ Cooles beinge in the forge, doo brenne and consume, but the golde is there tryed, the one is tounred to ashes, while the other is fyned. The forge is the worlde, good men are the golde, aduersitie is the fyre, the warkeman is god.

Bernard^o

¶ It pertaineth to vertue, to suffre aduersitie, it belongethe to wysedome in aduersytie alway to be mery, plucke vp thy hart and suffre goddis pleasure: for the chiefe part of vertue is to taste & fele howe swete and delectable is the lorde of all wysedom.

Laſtanti^o.

¶ The wyse manne in tourmentes is euer more happy. But he that is troublid either for faith, for iuſtyce, or for god almyghtye, that sufferance of payne byngeth a manne to perfyte felicitie.

Thus Iudge the to be miserable, that neuer knewest myserye. what a manne maye or maye not, it is neuer perceyued, vntylle he be proued. Seneca.

¶ AFFECTION.

Vhere affection ones in the harte of manne entreth, and floweth into his breste, and downethe his harte: fydelytie, vertue, good faame, and honestie hym cleane forsaketh, and he dayely in all mischiefe increaseth. Plautus.

Where affection aboundeth, there good fame and vertue oftentymes perysmeth. Euripides

¶ AMBICION.

They that be infected with ambicion, and are desyrous of honour, wolde be exhorted to possede onely suche treasure as is vnspotted and cleaue frome all mischiefe, whiche may not of any ennea mye be corrupted, nor with rebuke noted, nor with any dishonestie sclaundered. Plutarch.

The dyuell dyd fall only bycause he rather wolde be a lorde than a subiecte. Augustin.

He that is in auctoritie, let hym consider howe he commeth to it: and commyng wel to it, howe he ought to lyue well in it: and Gregori.

B ii lyuyng

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and lpyng well in it, howe he muste gouerne: and gouernynge wysely, he must oft call to remembrance his owne infirmitie.

A vertuous mā shuld receiue rule or auctorite as if he were therto cōpellid: but he that lacketh vertue, though he be compelled, yet let hym not take it.

Bernard **A**mbition is a subtyll myschiese, a priuie porson, a couerte pestilence, the forger of decepte, the mother of hypocrisie, the nouryce of enuye, the fountayne of vices, the mothe of duction, the blynder of hartes, makynge dysleases of remedies, and syckenesse of salues.

Tullius. **I**t is harde for hym that desyreth to be aboue all men, to kepe alway equitie, whiche is the chiefe parte of Iustice.

He that is desirous of glory, is sone stirred to do thynges agaynste equitie.

AUTHORITIE.

Q. Curti **H**igh authoritie is alwaye in perylle. For it is harde to holde that, which thou canste not wolde.

Plutarch **T**hey that wolde excelle all other in a citie or countrey, shulde allure theyr inferiours with indifferencie, gentylnesse, and lyberalitie: And content greate men with diligence, affabilitie, & sobrenesse, and with
good

good reasons retein them in the weale publicke, in one consent and agreement.

E flee that authoritie, wherin spryngeth continually newe occupation and sundry. *Seneca.*

AMITIE.

I Suppose this to be the very true law of Amitie, a man to loue his frende no lesse nor no more than he loueth hym selfe. *Augustin.*

Amitie eyther taketh or maketh menne equall, and where inequalitytie is, by preeminence of the one, and moche basenesse of the tother, there is moche more flattereth an frendshyppe. *Hieronymus.*

In amitie the thinge is not so moche to be sought for, as the wylle and intente, the one betwene men is oftentimes gyuen, the tother onely procedeth of loue, & the same thing to wyl or wyl not, is constant amitie.

Where the maners be dyuerse, and studies repugnant, can neuer be frendshyp. *Ambrosius.*

He that is beloued in tyme of prosperitie, hit is veray doubtfulle, whether the fortune, or elles the personne be the thing that is fauoured. *Gregorius.*

A faithfull frende is a faire protection, he that findeth such one, findeth a tresure. *Salomon.*

A frende is not knowen in thinges that be pleasaunt.

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In thynges displeasaunt an ennemye is spyed.

Isidorus. **T**hey be neuer faytheful in frendeshyp, whom gyftes haue gotten, and loue neuer ioyned.

That is trewe frendeshyppe, that looseth for nothyng of his frende, but onely his fauoure, as who saythe, without mede loueth his louer.

Plato. **W**e be not borne for our selves onely, but partely our countrey, partely our frendes clayme an intereste in our natiuitie.

Tullius. **L**ette vs see, that we vse alway that liberalitie, wherby we may profite our frendes, and do no man damage.

In thynges moste prosperous the counsell of frendes is moste to be vsed.

Salustius **T**he strengthe of a realme doothe not consist in great puissance or treasure, but in frendes, whome thou canste gette neyther by force, nor prouyde them with money, but they be prouyded with gentylnes, and confydence onely.

APPARAYLE.

Ecclesiast. **T**he apparayle, the laughter, ⁊ gate of a man do shewe what he is.

Augustin. **T**he ryght apparayle of chrysten men and women, is in no maner of deceite:
full

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ful paynting & trimmyng, nor yet the pompous apparayle and iewels, but it is theyr good condicions and maners.

Either to moche flutishenes, nor exquisite nycenes becommeth a christian.

Hieronymus.

Thou woman whan thou paynteste thy face with materiall colours, thou putteste out the trewe pycture or ymage of god.

Ambrosius.

Foule maners wars than dyte desyleth fayre garmentes, fayre condicions do garnishe foule garmentes with laudable actes

Plautus.

She is not well apparayled that is not well manered.

He that fayne wolde haue busynesse, let hym gette hym a shyppe and a wyfe, for in noo two thynges is there more busines, for if thou intendeste to apparayle theym bothe, they two wyll neuer be sufficientesly trymmed.

ALMES DEEDE.

If thou hast moch, gyue than abundantly: If thou haue lyttell, yet gyue somewhat gladly: therby doest thou lay vp a good treasure agayne the tyme of necessitye. for almes deliuereth the from synne & frome dethe, ne wyll suffre thy soule to entre in darkenes.

Tobias.

Blessed is he that considereth the pore

Dauid.

B iiii

man

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man and nedye, in the troublouse daye the
lorde shall deliuer hym.

Salomon. **T**he that stoppeth his eare at the crye of
the poore man, he shall ones crye, and god
shall not here hym.

Ecclesi. **T**he that dothe almes, dothe offer vppe
sacrifyce.

Paulus. **I**f I gyue all my goodes to the fedinge
of poore men, and haue not charitie, it no-
thyng shall profyte me.

Augustin. **A**lmes of the harte is moche more than
almes of the body. The almes of charitie
without worldely substance suffyseth, that
which is corporally gyuen without a mer-
cifull harte, is not sufficient.

Idem. **P**erfyte compassion is to preuente the
hungry, er the begger desyre the. Charys-
te is not perfite, whan crauing extorteth it.

ACCVSATION.

Liberus. **I**t is better that an yll manne be not ac-
cused, thanne to be suffered to goo vne-
punished.

ARROGANCY.

Ecclesiast. **A** Sturdy harte shall susteygne da-
mage, and he that loueth the perylle,
therin shall peryshe.

The congregation of prowde menne,
shall neuer prosper, the synne that in them

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is planted, shall be dygged vppe, and not be perceyued.

¶ To set lytel by that, which men do deme **Tullius.**
of the, is not only the signe of an arrogant
person, but also of a man folishe & dissolute.

¶ AGE.

Age which is reuerend, is not accou **Ecclesiast.**
ted by length of tyme, or nombre of
yeres, for the witte of man is not the
hooze heares: but very age is the lyfe vn-
corrupted. Howe seemely is it to a whyte
heed to haue a good iudgement, and to old
men to vnderstande counsaile?

¶ There is nothing more reprocheful, thā **Seneca.**
an olde man, which hath none other argu-
ment to proue that he hath lyued long, but
onely his yeres.

¶ AVARICE.

O with what diffycultie shall they that **Christ' as**
haue money entre into the kingdom **pud Lucā.**
of heuē? Verily I say vnto you, more
lyghtly maye a camel passe through the eie
of a nedell, than a ryche man entre into the
kyngdome of heuen.

¶ No doubt but they that be riche or co- **Paulus.**
naite to be ryche, do fall in temptation and
snare

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share of the dyuell, into sundry vnefull besyres, and also vnprofitable, whiche draweth a man in damnation: & dethe euerlasting

Ecclesiast. ¶ To a manne couetous and nigarde, substance is to no purpose, to an enuyous man what profiteth rycheesse?

Hieremias. ¶ From the leaste to the mooste all men be couetous, from the prophete to the prieste all do dissemble.

Bernardus. ¶ The chariotte of Auaryce is carryed on foure wheles of vyces, whiche are faynte courage, vngentylnes, contempte of god, forgetfulnes of deathe: And two horses do drawe it, raueny, and nygardshyppe: to them both is but one cartar, desire to haue that carter driuith with a whip hauing two cordes, appetite to get, & drede to forlette.

Salomon. ¶ He that heapeth vp richesse, and settith his minde to gather for other men, hauing no respecte to iustyce, his goodes shall be consumed in riot and foly.

¶ He that bydeth corne, shall be cursed of people: and benediction shall light on them that be sellers.

¶ Substance sone come by, shall mynyshe, and that whiche by littel and lytel with labour is gotten, shall encrease and continue.

¶ Hell and perdition be neuer fylled, nor the insaciablen eye of a couetous persone.

¶ He that maketh haste to be ryche, and hath

bath indignation at other, lyttell weeneth
he howe sone after, nede wyl attache him.

Euerlastyng woo be to hym that coue- **Abacus.**
tously doth gather to mainteine his house,
that his neste may stande high, & thynkerh
to escape the great stroke of vengeance.

Pouertie lacketh many thynges, coue- **Seneca.**
tyse all thynges. The nygarde to noo man
is good, but to hym selfe he is worste.

Honey, if thou canste vse it, is thy ser-
uaunt and dioudge, if not, she is thy ladye
and soueraygne.

To practyse in the publyque weale for **Tullius.**
to gette rychesse, is not onely a shame, but
also a thyng to all men moste odious.

Inordinate desyre of ryches and rule is **Salustius.**
the fyrst matter, wherof springeth all euyl,
for couetous appetyte, subuertethe cre-
dence, honestie, and all other vertues.

It is harde to content vs with that, whi **Q. Curti.**
che occasyon dothe proffer, for the thyng
that commeth fyrste, doothe abhoire vs,
whan we hope to haue better.

BABLYNGE.

That which passith out of the mouth **Matheus.**
commith from the harte, and that is
the thyng that defyleth a man.

In moche bablyng lacketh no synne, he **Salomon.**
is wyse, that can tempte his language.

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Seneca. **T**hablynge ennemy shall lesse annoy the,
than he that speaketh nothyng.

Aristotel. **T**hat whyche is ostentymes spoken,
troubleth the herer.

Macrobi. **T**alke so with mē, as if god did here the:
speke so to god, as if mē vnderstode the.

BATTAYLE.

**Hieronis
mus.**

That fortitude whiche preserueth by
bataile the countrey from infidels, &
at home defēdeth feble mē, and true
men from theues, agreeth with iustyce.

In warres the multitude, nor the puis-
sance vnlearned may so moch auaille toward
victorie, as knowlege and exercise.

He that desireth peace, let hym prepare
for warres: he that wold vanguishe, let him
instruct wel his people: And he that wold
acheue his exploitures, let him fight with
crafte, and not with chaunce or aduenture.

Tullius.

Warre wolde be in suche wyse taken in
hande, as nothyng but peace shuld secme
to be sought for.

**Sextus Au-
relius.**

Octauyan the emperour was wonte to
saye, that warre shulde not be styred with-
oute suretie that the gayne shulde be more
than the charges, lest that the victorie go-
ten with moche losse and smal aduantage,
may be lyke to a fyshboke of golde, wbych
eyther

either beinge broken or losse, canne not be payd for with that that it taketh.

Victorie restyeth not in a great army, but the strengthe of the battaylle commeth from heuen. *Machabeorum.*

Chabrias a noble man was wont to say, an hostie of hartes that had a lyon to theyr captaine, was more to be dred, than an host of lyons beinge ledde with an harte. *Plutarch.*

These foure thinges oughte to be in a great capitayne, knowlege in armes, valiant courage, authoritie, and fortune. *Salustius.*

Sobrienes in a souldiour is no lesse commendable, than strength and hardynesse. *Julius Cesar.*

Gdelnes is most contrary to souldyours attemptes

BENEFITE.

Thou good to a good manne, and thou shalt fynde recompence, and if he can not requite the, yet god shall remembre the. *Ecclesiast.*

If thou practise beneficence on a person vnworthy, thou gyuest occasion to fooles to do lewdly. *Democritus.*

That benefyte commeth late, that abyedeth a crauynge. *Seneca.*

A shrewde tourne is soner requit than a good turne, for thank is reputed a charge, reuengynge

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reuenginge for a gayne and aduantage.

Seneca.

¶ Those benefytes are mooste thankeful, which a man fyndeth redye, and commeth on quickly, wherin is no tarieng, but only the shamfastnes of him that shal take them.

BYSHOP.

Paulus ad
Titum

A Byshop muste be without faute, as the stewarde of almyghtye god, not proude, not wiahtfull, not drunkely, no fighter, not couetous of dishonest game but a good householder, bountifull, wyse, sobre, iuste, holy, and continente, hauynge the true maner of speche, whiche is accordynge to lernynge, wherwith he maye exhort by holsome doctrine, ⁊ reprove them, whiche wyll speake to the contrary.

BOSTYNGE.

Salomon.

B E thou praysed of an others mouth, ⁊ not of thyn owne. Let a stranger comende the ⁊ not thyn owne lyppes.

Valerius
Max.

¶ Nothyng dothe more mynysh a mannes commendation, than moch auauynginge the successe of his actes.

Cicero.

¶ It is a foule thing, a man to tel moch of hym self, specially that whiche is false, and with mockes of them whiche do here him, to seme to resemble the bostyng fouldiour.
¶ Chastitie.

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If thyn eye be symple or cleane, all thy body shall be byght. **Christ^s in Mattheo.**

Chastitie is the beaute of the soule, or of the kiges doughter, which is frō within

Cwhere necessitie is layde vnto chastitie, authoritie is gyuen to lechery, for neyther **Augustin^s**

she is chast, which by feare is cōpelled, nor she is honest, which with mede is opreined

Chastitie without charitie is as a lampe without oyle, take the oile away, the lampe giueth no lyght, take away charitie, thanne pleaseth not chastitie, **Bernardus**

There be fyre thynges, that do preserue chastite, sobrienes in diet, occupatiō, sharpnes of the inner apparayle, refraynyng of the senses, that is to saye, the fyue wittes, Also selde cōmunication, and that with honestie, and eschewynge oportunitie of the person, the place, and the tyme. **Cassiodorus.**

CHARITIE.

If I hadde the spiryte of prophcy, and knewe all mysteryes, and all maner of cunnynge: Also yf I had all faythe, in so moche as I coude translate and cary away mountaynes, yet were I nothyng, if I lacked charitie. Also couer, if I did distribute **Paulus.**
all

BANKET OF

all my goodes, in fedynge poore people, & al though I gaue my body to be burned, ha-
ving no charitie, it nothyng avayleth me.
Charitie is pacient and gentyle, Charitie
hath enuy at no man, it dothe nothyng a-
mis, it is not puffed out with pride, it is not
ambiciouse, she seketh not her profyte, she
is not moued, she thynketh none ill, she re-
ioyseth in noo myschiefe, she ioyethe with
truthe, all thyng she suffreth, al thyng she
beleueth, all thyng she hopeth, al thyng she
beareth, Charitie neuer fayleth.

CONSTANCE.

Tullius.

Aswell to moche reioysynge in pro-
speritie, as to moche sorowe in ad-
uersitie betokeneth lychtnes.

Hieroni-
mus.

¶ What so euer is done by necessite is short-
ly dissolued, and that whiche is wyllynge-
ly receyued, of longe tyme abydet.

Seneca.

¶ He that is constāt feleth no trouble, and
is without heynesse.

Tullius.

¶ Nothing so wel becommeth a man, as in
euery enterpryse and takynge of counsaile,
to be sure and constant.

¶ What is so great folly, or soo vnworthy a
wise mans constance and grauite, as is false
opinion? or boldly to defend that, which he
dothe not vnderstand wel and sufficiently?

Lernall

CARNALL APPETITE

Carnall appetite is alway a hungred, and of that whiche is passed, a man is not satisfied. Hieronymus.

It agreith not with reson, that he whom feare cā not vanquishe, to be subdued with couetise, or he, whiche canne be ouercome with no peyne, to be vanquished with carnall affection. Tullius.

Carnal appetite more oftē leuith behind her, cause of repērance, than of remēbrāce.

Carnall appetite ennemy to reason, letteth all counsaile, and dusketh the eyes of the mynde, nor with vertue wylle haue any medlynge.

CONSIDERATION.

He that intenderh to doo any thyng, lette hym consyder, not onely howe conuenient is the thyng that ought to be done, but also what power he hath to brynge it to passe. Tullius.

If we wyl consyder what excellency & preeminence is in the nature of mā, we shal wel vnderstande, howe horrible a thyng it is to flowe in excelle, and to be wanton and delycate, howe faire & honeste it is to lyue warily, continently, sadly, and sobriely.

The whom fortune neuer deceyued, doth
L not Lilius.

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not without cause remembre the vncertaintie of sondry aduentures.

Socrates. ¶ If thou consyder well thynges that be passed, thou shalt the better gyue counsell in thinges that may happen.

Galenus. ¶ Remembraunce of actes passed sheweth to vs, wherin we offend, and conferrynge it with thinges that be present, we ar taught howe to resourme it.

¶ CONFESSIO

Augustin⁹ ¶ Confession is the remedy of sowles: the confounder of vices: the restorer of vertues: the vanquisher of diuelles, what wyl you more? It stoppeth belles mouthe, and setteth wyde open the gates of paradyse.

Ambrosi⁹. ¶ The vengsaunce of god cesseth, where mans confession tymely preuenteth.

Bernard⁹ ¶ Confessio is the lyfe of a sinner, the glory of good men, to offendours necessarye, and yet vnto iuste men not inconuenient.

¶ CONTEMPT OF VVORLDELY THYNGES.

Augustin⁹ ¶ The worlde is a see, and euery mans couetous desire, is nought elles but a tempest. Doest thou loue god? than walkest

walkeſte thou on the ſee, ⁊ the feare of the worlde is vnder thy fete. loueſt thou the world? he wil ſwollowe the, for he can tol his louers vnto hym, but he can not beare them. Therfore, whan thy harte ſittreth in couerouſe appetite, calle to thyne ayde Chriſtis diuynitie, that thou mayſte vanquiſhe thyne inordinate ſoly.

¶ The pleaſure of this worlde is vanytie, whiche with moche expectation is looked for, ⁊ whan it is come, no man can holde it. Auguſtin⁹

¶ Woſt not of to morowe, thou woteſt not what the day wyll bring, whan it cometh. Hieronimus

¶ Set lyttell by rycheſſe, and thou ſhalte be ryche: ſet lyttell by renoume, and thou ſhalt be famous: care not for afflictions, and thou ſhalte ouercome them: paſſe lyttell on reſte and quietneſſe, and thou ſhalte opteyne them. Chriſoſt.

¶ In thynges perteyning to man, nothing is ſo diligently done, but that as wel by the puiſſance of man, it may be vndone, for the warkes of men mortall, alſo be mortall. Laſtanti⁹.

¶ Nothyng is ſo happy, that it is without feare. where there is ſuſpicion, the lyfe is vnpleaſaunte. Seneca.

¶ He that is dedycate to the haſardes of Fortune, he prepareth for hym ſelfe moche mater to trouble, whiche wyll not ſhortly be ſlaked, Idem.

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Idem,

¶ There is one waye to go surely, that is, to set litle by thinges worldly, and a man to holde hym contented onely with honestie.

CVSTOME

Augustin⁹

¶ All thinges wherof holy scripture hath determined no certainte, the vse of goddis people, and statutes of fathers are to be holden for lawes. And lykwyse as transgressours of goddis lawes are to be punished, so contemnours of ecclesiasticall customes ought to be chastised.

Isidorus,

¶ The wounde often renewed is harde to be healed.

Seneca,

¶ Custome teacheth that to be lyttel, whiche semeth to be great.

¶ Education and discipline formeth good maners: and men sauoureth alway of that thyng, whiche in youth they haue lerned.

Augustin⁹

¶ In truthe whiche appereth openly, cuylsome muste gyue place to veritie.

¶ CORRECTION.

Augustin⁹

¶ He that byndeth a franticke man, and waketh him that hath the letargy or slepyng syckenes, displeaseth bothe, loueth both, and healeth bothe, both whyles they be sycke, do disdayne him: & whan they

they be hole, yet bothe do thanke hym.

¶ Correcte not a scorne, lest that he hate the, correcte a wyse man, and he wyll thanke the. Salomon.

¶ In correctiō wrath is specially to be prohibited, for he that wyll punyshe, whan he is angry, he shal neuer kepe wel the mean, whiche is betwene to moche and to lyttel. Tullius.

¶ A gentyl horse is ruled with the glymse of a rodde: A dull royle wyll vnneth stire with the thrust of a spurre. Q. Curti⁹

¶ It is better to be of a wyse manne counsell, than to be with the flattery of foles deceyued. Ecclesiast.

¶ The eare which wyll here his owne life rebuked, shal dwell in the myddel of them that be wyse men. Salomon.

¶ Be of thyne owne liuinge a sharpe counsellour, and of other mens a gentill reformer, and let men here the commande small thynges and easye: and that thou thy selfe doest great thynges and peynefull. Chrisost.

¶ Correct thy frende secretly, and praise thy frende openly. Seneca.

¶ It is the parte of a wyse man, to rote vp vices, and not the offenders.

¶ A good capytayne ordereth his men better by keepyng them from yll doinge than by soore chastysyng. Salustius.

BANKET OF
COVNSAYL AND COVN-
SAYLOVRES.

- Ecclesiast.** **T**hey that do all thynges with coun-
cell, are governed by wysedome.
- T**al not them to thy coucel, which
lacke discretion, for they can loue nothing
but that whiche contenteth their appetite.
- T**o every man disclose not thy mind, lest
some do dissemble, and after reproche the.
- Sonne** do all thynges by counsel, & whā
thou hast done, thou shalt not repente the.
- Salomon** **O**bserue well the lawe, and folow good
counsaylle, and thy soule shall haue lyfe,
and thou shalt walke truely, and thy fore
shall not tryppe.
- Ioan.** **B**eleue not euery spirite, but proue well
the spirites, if they be good.
- Tullius.** **A**rmure a brode is of lyttell effecte, but
if there be counsell at home.
- Gouernors** of the wele publike, ought to
be like to the lawis the which not for disple
sure but only for equite do punish offēders.
- Marius** **T**hat publyke weale is in better stare, &
Max. in a maner more sure, where the prynce is
not good, than where the kinges counce-
lours and companions be yll.
- Tacitus.** **A**ll violent attemptes being set forthe
without counsel, at the begynning ar puis-
sant, but in continuance they ar insufficient.
- w^ho

¶ Who wyl iudge hym to be necessarye in an other mans cause, which to him selfe appereth vnprofytable? Ambrosius.

¶ There ben two thynges to counsel most contrary, Hastie and Displeasure. Seneca.

¶ After hastie counsaile nexte foloweth repentaunce.

¶ All counsell is worst to the gyuer. Hesiodus.

¶ Power without counsel oftentimes breketh his necke with his owne bourden. Horatius.

COMMUNICATION.

¶ When thou arte amonge foles, kepe thy wordes in store. Ecclesiast.

¶ Amonge wyse menne be redye to commune.

¶ In the presence of greate men presume not to speake: and where as be thine elders talke not to moche.

¶ Honour and prayse be in the wordes of Salomon, a wyse man: The tongue of a foole is his propre subuercyon.

¶ Dispute not with a personne dysdaynefull, lest he syttrynge styll do lye in awaite for thy wordes. Tullius.

¶ It is a thyng fowle and rebukefull, in a sadde matter, to brynge in wordes wanton or mete for a bankette.

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C R V E L T I E.

Christ^s in
Mattheo.
Ecclesiast.

Like what measure you gyue vnto o^rther, lyke mesure shalbe met vnto you.

They whiche delyte in the falle of good men, shalbe taken in a trap, and shall be consumed with sorowe, or euer they die.

Jacobus.

Jugement without any mercy shalbe giuen to hym that wyll not be mercyfull.

Seneca.

The beste example, wherunto a pryncce shulde conforme hym, is to be suche one to his subiectes, as he wolde that god shulde be to hym selfe.

Seneca.

It is euen as yll at home as abrode to be moche feared, as ylle to be dradde of thy slaues and drudges, as of thy chief seruantes, no man lacketh power to doo harmes: adde also therunto, that he that is dradde, of necessitie feareth. Fewer manne mought be terrible, and also in suretie.

C V R I O S I T I E.

Salomon.

Seeke not for that, whiche is out of thy reach: Serch nat those thynges, that excedeth thy puissance: but thynke on that, whiche god hath comaunded the, and in his sondry warke be not to curious.

Com:

SAPIENCE.

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COMPASSION.

¶ They that trust moch to their frendes, *Q. Curti*
knowe not how shortly teares be dyled vp.

DEATHE.

HE must liue yf that lacketh knowlege *Seneca,*
howe to dye well.

¶ They which prepare them to bat- *Seneca,*
tayle before that batayle approcheth, they
beinge alway redy, doo easely susteyne the
first brunte, whiche is most troublouse: so
death or fortune alwayes loked for, is and
seemeth more easy with lesse peine suffered.

¶ One daye demeth an other, but the laste *Plinius,*
giueth iugement of all that is passed.

DELICATE LIVYNGE.

AS it is impossible, that fire shuld in- *Chrysost.*
flame within water, so it is impossi-
ble, that contricion of harte shuld be
gret in thinges that be delicate: for they be
mere repugnant the one to the other, the
contricio being mother of weping, delicate-
nes of laughig, she straineth & wringeth the
hart, this louseth it and setteth it at liberte.

DECEYTE.

MEn can better suffer to be denied, thā *Seneca,*
to be deceyued.

¶ Where wrong is comitted by two *Tullius,*
by maner

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maner of waie, either be force, or by fraud, fraude belongeth to a foxe, force to a lion, bothe the one and the other is to the nature of man wonderfull contrary.

Laertius. We ought to beware more of the enuy of our frendes, than of the assautes of our enemies, for these be apparāt vnto vs, the other is couered: and the craft to annoy, whiche is not looked for, is euer most dāgerus.

Salomon. A false wytnes shall not be without punyshement, ne a forger of lyes shall escape from correction.

DETRACTION.

Paulus. Neither detracts nor yet extortioners shall possede the kyngdome of heuen.

Hieronymus. Neuer detract or bakbite any mā, nor be sene to get praise by rebuking of other: but lerne more to adorne thin own life, thā to defame others, remēbring the scripture, whiche saith, Loue not to pul away a mans praise, lest thou be pluckid vp by the rois.

Bernardus. To sclāder or to here sclāuderers. I can not tel of thē two which is most damnable.

Tullius. We ought to suppose that detractig or yf reporting one of an other for a priuate auātage, is more againste nature than to suffre any discommodite, be it exterior or bodily.

Drune

SAPIENCE.
DRUNKENNES.

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A Drunken warkeman shall neuer be
ryche, & he that setteth noughte by
a lyttel, shal by a lytel & a lytel come
vnto nothyng.

Ecclesiast.

U Howe suffycient vnto a lerned man is a
small quantite of wyne: for therwith whan
thou slepest thou shalt not be troubled, nor
fele any peyne.

Euerlastyng peyne shalbe vnto you that
do yse yerly in the morning to drynke ex-
cessuely, and to quaste vntyl night, that ye
may be with wyne excessuely chauffed.

Isaias.

Ulechery, wyne, and facietie, consumeth
all wysedome.

Oseas.

The drunken man confoundeth nature,
loseth both grace and honour, and runneth
headlyng into euerlastyng damnation.

Augustin.

Wine inordinatly taken, troubleth mans
reason, maketh dulle vnderstandyng, infe-
bleth remembraunce, sendeth in forgetful-
nesse, powreth in errours, and bryngethe
forthe sluggishenes.

Boetius.

DISCORDE.

Every realme, deuyded within it selfe,
shall be made desolate: and euery citie
and house deuyded by mutuall conten-
tion, shall not longe stande.

Christ^s In
Matthco.

¶

BANKET OF

Ecclesiast. ¶ In thre thinges my spirite is well pleased, which be also commended before god and man, the good concorde of bretherne, the loue of neighbours, also man and wyfe of one consent and agreement.

Gregoriⁿ. ¶ If they, which make peace, be callid the chyldren of god, without doubt the disturbers of peace be the chyldren of Satan.

Tullius. ¶ They that susteine one part of the people, and neglect the other part, they bring into the citie a thyng verye peryllous, that is to say, sedicion and discorde.

Salustius ¶ With concorde smal thinges grow to be great, with discord the most greatest thinges be brought vnto nothyng.

¶ Quarre is sone made, but it is not so shortly discuffed: for he is not sure to synne it, that fyrst toke in hande to begynne it.

DIGNITIE.

Chrysost. **H**E is honorable, a great estate, and a noble manne, whiche dysdarneth to serue, or be subiecte to vices.

Seneca. ¶ If thou wylte esteeme a man truely, and knowe what he is, beholde him naked, and lette him laye asyde possessions, authoritie, and other fables of fortune: finally let hym put of his bodye, and beholde thou in his soule, what he is of him selfe, and what he hath of other, whiche is not his owne.

Dolour.

Like as a mothe in a garmente, and a wo:me in a tree: so heuynesse hurteth the harte of a man. *Salomon.*

In heuynesse it is to be forsene and prouided, that nothyng be done desperately, nothyng fearefully, nothyng wretchedly, or any thyng foolyshely. *Salomon.*

There is no sorowe, but that lengthe of tyme shal minishe it, and make it more easy. *Ser. Sulpitius.*

DOCTRINE.

Like as fayre legges be in rayne to a crypple, so vnsemely is doctrine in the mouthes of fooles. *Salomon.*

Doctrine is of suche puissaunce, that in good men it is the armour of vertue, to per sons corrupted, a spurre to do myschiefe. *Gelasius.*

Lyke as woll taketh some colours with one only depyng, some not without often stepyng and boylng, so som doctrinees ons apprehended be forthewith shewed, some other except they be depely receyued, and longe tyme setlid, colourerh not the mynd, but onely toucheth it, and that whiche is promised, it nothyng perfourmeth. *Seneca.*

Doctrine is an ornament to men beinge fortunate, to men infortunate a refuge and succour. *Democritus.*

No man maye prosyte in heerynge soo moche *Ambrosius.*

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moche but whyles he leueth he shall haue
nede to be taughte.

Tullius. ¶ If corne felde or a wytte beinge neuer
so fertile, without it be exercysed, may ne-
uer be fruiteful.

Seneca. ¶ Philosophy is not a cōmune workman-
shyp, or made for to bragge with. It is not
in wordes but in matter: ne it is gyuen only
to pass the time pleasantly, but it setteth the
mind in good frame, the life in good order,
it ruleth our actes, & sheweth what is to be
done, and what to be vndone, she syteth at
our sterne, and among the vncertayn sur-
gics, she ordereth the ryghte cours of our
passage, without her no man is in suretie.

Seneca. ¶ Menne beleue better theyr eien, thanne
theyr eares.

¶ It is a longe waye to goo by rules and
preceptes, the waye by example is shorte
and commodious.

¶ We teache our chylderne lyberal sciens-
ces, not bycause those sciences maye grue
any vertue, but bicause they make the mind
apte to receyue it.

DISSIMVLATION.

Ecclesi. **S**lowe wyll be to them that haue dou-
ble hartes, myscheuous tongues, ylle
doinge handes, and to the ylle lyuer,
that

S A P I E N C E.

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that entrethe into the woulde by two son-
dye wayes.

I hate those mē, which in their actes be
fooles, and in their wordes philosophers.

Paculus.

D I E T E.

In many meates is occasyon of sycke-
nesse, and gredy fedynge shall appoche
vnto cholere.

Ecclesiast.

To hym which is fallen to a distempe-
rance in heate or colde, it is expediente to
gyue thinges of contrary qualities.

Galenus.

If thou wylt preserue the temperature,
which is in thy body, to a moist nature giue
thinges moist, to a drie nature, dry thinges:
if thou wylt alter the temperature, gyue
euer the contrary.

Ye maye not onely remembre, that con-
trarye thynges be healed by theyr contra-
ry, but also in euery contrary ye must con-
syder the quantitie.

Whan syckenes is in his foice, than the
moiste spare diete is to be vsed.

Hypocra-
tes.

The preseruatiō of helthe begynneth
with labour, which meate and drinke ouer-
takerh, than slepe ensueth, than Venus fo-
loweth, but eche of them in a measure.

Hypocra-
tes & Ga-
lenus.

Uncleane bodyes, and they which of
superfluous humours be not well purged,
the

BANKET OF

the more ye nouryshe them, the more do ye hynder them.

Hippocra-
tes.

¶ Stomakes in wynter and sprynge tyme be hottest, and slepe than is lengest: wherefore in those tymes, meate shulde be taken in greatest aboundaunce.

¶ Sodaynly and verye moche to euacuate or to fill, to make hote or to coole, nor any otherwise to remoue the state of the body, is verye daungerous, for to moche of any thyng is enmye to nature.

¶ EASE.

Galenus.

Moche ease and defaulte of competēt labour, maketh heate feble, whiche shulde resolute and make thynne that whiche oughte to be purged.

¶ They that liue in moche ease do gather commonly a fleumatyke or slymye iuyce in theyr bodies.

¶ They that do labour moche, doo gather iuyce cholerike or melācoly, the one in sommer, the other in come haruest time, or towarde wynter.

¶ EXAMPLE.

Christe as
suid Matt.

So let your lychte shyne before al men, that they may behold your good warkes, and maye gloryfye your father, whiche

whiche is in heuen.

¶ Who soo euer lyueth yll in the syghte of them, ouer whom he hath rule, as moche as in hym is, he sleith the beholders. Augustin

¶ The bishoppes conuersacion and household, is sette as it were maysters of comune dyscipline, on the toppe of a mountayne. for what so euer he dothe, all other men thynke, they maye lesully do it. Hieronymus,

¶ Deuoute conuersation without communication, as moche as by example it profiteth, by silence it hurteth. For with barking of dogges, and stauers of the sheperdes, the raginge wulfes be let of their purpose. Hieronymus.

¶ More auayleth example than wordes. And moche better be men taughte by doinge, than they are by speakynge. Leo.

¶ In the knowledge of thynges, this is it whiche is chiefly mooste hollesome and profitable: to marke well the lessons of euery example, whiche is put in famouse remembrance: wherof thou mayste take for the and thy countrey, that thou mayst ensue, or that whiche hath an yll begynnynge, or a foule endynge, thou mayste the better exchewe. Ti. Licius

¶ ENVY.

Eny is blynde, and can do nothyng, but dispraise vertue. Lisius.

¶ It is a scabbe of this world to haue Tullius.
D enuy

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enuy at vertue.

Tullius.

The myserable conditions of people that are to be gouerned, among whom diligence is hated, neglygence is reprobued, where sharpenes is peryllous, lyberalitie thankles, communication deceyptful, perniciousse flattery, euery mans countenance famylar, many mennes myndes offended, wayte to hurte priuily, fayre wordes openly, whan officers be commynge, they tarry for them, whyle they be present, they do awayte on them, beinge out of auctorite, al do forsake them.

ELOQUENCE.

Salomon.

Eloquente wordes become not a foole, nor lyenge lyppes a man in auctoritie.

FAME.

Salomon.

Better is a good name than abundance of rycheesse: for good estimation surmounteth all treasure.

Seneca.

Those men say yf of the, that be yf them selfe. Reason aunswereth, I shulde be soie moued, if Lato, Lelius the wyse, the other Lato, and the two Scipions shulde soo repporte of me, or if these men shulde say this with a rype iudgemente, whiche they doo now by malyce corrupted.

The

¶ The actes, & not the fame shulde first be considered. Tullius.

¶ The insamy of man is immortal, for she is aloue whan thou thynkest her deade. Flautus

FAYTHE.

Our lord will reward euery man accordinge to his Justice and fayth. Regum.

¶ We that beleue Christus, let vs followe Christus liuinge. Hieronymus.

¶ They which beleue in god, let them endeavour them to excell in good warkes. Paulus Titum

¶ Like as the body is dede, wherein is no spirite, so that fayth is dede where there lacke warkes, Iacobus

¶ The fayth of a chrystian is iorned with charitie: and without charitie is the fayth of the dyuell. Augustin

¶ Fayth not exercised, sone waxeth sicke, and being vnoccupied it is assaulted with sondry displeasures.

¶ Not the herers of the law be ryghtwise in the presence of god, but the doers of the lawe shall be iustified. Paulus a Roman.

¶ Not euery man that sayth to me, Lorde lord, shal enter in to the kyngdome of heauen, but they whiche do the wyll of my father, whiche is in heauen. Christus : pud Matt

BANKET OF FEARE.

solomon. **T**he rote of wysdome is to feare god,
and the braunche therof, shall longe
tyme endure.

ullius. **T**here is none authoritie of so greate a
puissance, that oppressing with drede, may
longe endure.

anius. **W**hom men feare they do hate, and every
man whom he hateth he desireth to perish.
Drede and terror be weak bonds of
loue: for if that they breke, and men cesse to
feare, than begynne they to hate.

meca. **I**t is more dangeour to be dreed than to
be despised: for nedes muste he feare ma-
ny, whom many feareth.

FOLEY.

alomon. **A**foles way in his owne eye is best, a
wyse man hereth good counsaile.
He that answereth before that he
hereth, proueth hym selfe to be a foole and
worthy rebuke.

ecclesiast. **A** wyse sentence in a foolles mouth shall
not be regarded, for he telleth it not in o-
portunitie.

Talke not longe with a sole, & with hym
that lacketh wit, kepe not moch company.

Paulus. **H**e that setteth moch by hym self, where
in

in dede he is nought worthe, he byngeth
hym selfe into foly.

¶ It is the propriete of a foole to seke out
other mens fautes, and forgerre his owne.

FLATTERY.

MY sonne yf yll men wyl fede the with
flattery, consent not vnto them.

¶ Better ar the strokes of him that
loueth truely, than the fals kysses of them
that do flatter the.

¶ Tale bearers, riotters, glosers, and fla-
terers, flee farre frome theym as frome
thy chiefe ennemyes.

¶ Within thy selfe, beholde well thy selfe,
and to knowe what thou arte, gyue no cre-
dence to other.

¶ Whose eares be so stopped from trouthe,
that he maye not abyde to here trouthe of
his frende, his helthe and prosperytie is
to be despayred.

¶ Lyke as wormes sonest do brede in soft
wood and gentyl, so the most noble wyrttes
despyous of praisse, gentil ⁊ honorable, most
maketh of flatterers, and do noyſſe suche
persons, as be theyr destroyers.

¶ The familiar companion, whiche is al-
waye lyke pleasaunt, and gapeth for than-
kes, and neuer byteth, is of a wyse man to
be alway suspected.

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Great mens sonnes lerne nothinge wel but to ride, for in other doctrines their masters do flatter them, pleyng al that they speake. At wastlyng they felowes falle downe or they be throwen. But the rough horse whā he is ridden, knowing not whether he that rideth be a prince or a subiect, a rich mā or a poore, casteth him out of the saddel, if he can not good skyl of rydng

FORTITUDE.

ieronimus.

Fortitude and constaunce is the hyghe way, he that tourneth to moche on the ryghte hande is foolehardye and forward, to moche on the left hande is fearefull and coward.

ullius.

Fortitude is an affection of mynde, susteynyng patiently peryll and grieve, and beinge alway free from all drede.

gregorius.

Fortitude appereth not but in the tyme of aduersitie.

eneca.

To a wyse man none yl may happen, for he standeth vprighte vnder euery burden, nothyng may appaire him, nothyng displeaseth him that oughte to be boine: for what so euer moughte happen to man, he neuer cōplayneth that it hath chanced vnto him. **A**lthinges ought to be forethought on, & the minde fortified against all that might happen.

happē. Banishment, turmentes, syckenes, batraile, shipwrekes, thinke on them dayly, ¶ To suffre grieſe quietly and coldely, it profyteth moche to conſider, and ſo to do it is a greate honeſtie.

¶ Nedes muſte he that is valyant, be of a gret courage, ⁊ alſo inuincible, he that is inuincible diſpiſeth al thingis that be tranſitorie, ſuppoſing them to be inferiour vnto hym. But no mā may deſpiſe thoſe thingis, wherby he may be greued, but only he that is valiaunt. wherfore it happeneth that a valiant perſon can neuer be greued: al wiſe men therfore nedes muſte be valyant.

¶ It was wont to be a greate prayſe and a meruaylus, to haue patiently taken al ſrowarde aduentures, not to haue ben ſubdued by fortune, but in all aduerſyrie, to haue receyved theyr eſtimation and dignitie.

¶ The tymorous dogge berketþ more ſore **Q. Curti** than he byteth.

we ſe the gretteſt riuers fal with leſt noiſe.

¶ FORTVNE.

Fortune cā neuer make that to be thine **Boetius**, that nature denyeth the.

¶ It is a naturall ſyckenefſe in men to beholde with ſore eyen the newe aduancement of oþer. **Tacitus**.

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Seneca. **T**Loke howe many wonderers, so many enuyers.

Iustinus. **T**his fortune beckett, so fauour inclineth.
TInnumerable be the examples of changeable fortune, for where made she euer great ioye, but where sorowe proceded? or what sorowe hath she caused, that hath not proceded of ouermoch gladnesse?

The flycitie begynneth by the ordynaunce of god, where myserye is esteemed by the iugement of man.

Seneca. **T**he enterprises be in our puissance, but theyr conclusions fortune determineth.

To beare rule is chaunce, to grue rule is puissaunce.

Tfortune fauourynge varyaunce, despyseth constance.

Tullius. **T**whose hope, reason, or imagination, dependeth on fortune, in hym nothinge maye be constant or certayne.

Tfortune is to greate men deceytfull, to good me vnstable, all that is high is vnure.

Twhat fortune highe rayseth, she lysteth vp to lette falle.

Tn thynges whiche be moderate, continuance is constant.

Chilo. **T**chilo the wyse man beinge demaunded what fortune was, he answered: A lewd proposition, for she made many folkes blinde, that trusted moche to her.

Osten-

Coftentimes fortune corrupteth nature. **Q. Curti.**

GOD.

The eyes of god be more brighte than Salomon,
the son, beholding euery where al the
waies that mē take, the depnes of that
whiche is bottomles, seing mens thoughtes,
where they thynke them most secrete.

In the hart of man be many deuises, the
wyl of god euer abydeth.

No sapience, prudence, nor counsayle,
maye preuaile agaynst god. The horse is
prepared to battayle, but yet god giueth al
war the victoie.

They that feare god, wyl beleue his Ecclesiast,
worde: and they that loue hym, wyl kepe
his commandement.

Blessed be the name of our lord, for wise Daniel,
dome, and puyssaunce be of hym onely, he
altereth times and ages, he also translateth
and ordeyneth kyngdomes.

GOVERNOR.

Whereas lacketh a gouernour, the Salomon,
people decayeth, where as be many
counsayles, there lacketh not surete. Prouerb.

In the multitude of people is the state
of a kyng.

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In the fewenes of subiectes is the prince's dishonour.

A prince that gladly hereth leasynge, hath all his officers peruers and wycked.

Who is the countrey, where the ruler is wanton, and they in authoritie breake their faste tyme.

Happye is that lande, that hath their kynge noble: and where men in auaritie eate in good season.

Tul. off. 3. **H**e that is a gouernour, offendeth more greuously by his exāple thā by his offence

Salomon. **W**here a gouernour lacketh, the people shal perishe: the sauegarde of the is, where be many counsailes.

Jeremias. **R**ulers haue doone thynges with folye, and sought not for our lord: therfore they vnderstand not, and their flocke is broken and scatered.

Plutarch. **P**repare thy selfe, and furnishe so thy condicions and maners, and set forth the fourme of thy living in suche wise, as he that in the myddell of euery mans syghte leadeth his lyfe, and maye be hyd from no man.

The comune people are wont to serche and beholde curiously the maners lyues and condicions of them that be rulers, all thoughe they be couered neuer so closely, or hydde and kepte with hangynges and curteynes neuer so priuely.

Good

SAPIENCE.
¶ GOOD MEN.

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A Good man shal receiue abundantly grace of our lord: he that trusteth i his own wit, doth euer vngratioufly **Salomon,**
¶ We may cal that man gratiouse, to whom **Seneca,**
nothyng is good or yll, but a good mynde or an yll, whiche is a louer of honestie, contented only with vertue, whom no fortune extollerth or oppresseth, nor knoweth any thyng to be better, than that he may giue to hym selfe, to whom very pleasure is, to sette lyttell by pleasure.

GLOTENY.

Hunt not the company of drynkers, **Salomon,**
no: the dyners and suppers of them, **Proucr. 31**
that bying fleshe with them to eate,
for they whiche attende onely to drynkyng
and making of bankettes, shalbe consumed.
¶ Not the vse of meate, but the inordinate
desyre therof ought to be blamed. **Augustin**
¶ The ryche men wolde not be constray- **Augustin**
ned to eate that whiche poore men eateth,
but let them kepe the custome of theyr in-
firmite, being soyr that they can not other
wyse satisfye theyr nature. If they change
theyr custome, and therfore be sycke, lette
them vse theyr superfluitie, and gyue to the
poore

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poore men that, whiche vnto them shall be conuenient and necessary.

Hieronimus. ¶ Unhappye are they, whiche haue theyr appetite more than theyr stomake.

Ambrosius. ¶ Gloteny is an ill maystresse to serue, she alwaye desyieth and is neuer contented, what is more vnsaciabie than is the belye, that this day she receiueth, to morowe she expelleth, whan she is ful, she disputeth of continence, whan she hath dygested, she bedeth vertue farewell.

Cicero. ¶ Denyse kynge of Sicile, whan he hadde eaten potage, whiche a cooke of Lacedæmonia had made, he sayde that the meate dyd not delyte hym, the cooke aunswered, it was noo meruayle for it lacked spyces, whan the kynge asked what he lacked, he aunswered, Labour, sweate, runnyng, hungr, z thyrst, for with suche maner of stufte the meate of the Lacedemoniens was euer prepared.

GLORYE.

Tullius.
Tusc. qu. 3 ¶ Glorie is a thing substantial and perfectly expressed. It is the prayse of good men, consentynge togyther, a voyce incorrupted of them that iudge wel of an excellent vertue.

Off. 2. ¶ The chiefe and perfect glory standeth
in

S A P I E N C E.

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In thre thynges, If the multitude loue vs: if they haue good oppynyon of vs: If (as it were meruaillynge at vs, they suppose vs wel worthy to be had in moche reuerence.

¶ Thus sayth our lorde, Let not the wyse man glorie in his wysedome: nor the strong man in his strength, nor the rich man in his substaunce: but he that is glorious, let this be his glorie, to knowe & vnderstande me. For I am the lorde that do execute mercy, iugement, and iustyce in erth: these thynges do please me sayth our lorde god.

Hieremias

¶ Nor that fire maketh smoke, that quick ly is kendled: nor that glorie causeth enuy, that shortly appereth.

Plutarch^o

G R A C E.

The grace of god, why it is sente vnto this man, and not vnto that man, the cause maye be priuie, but without iustice, truely it maye neuer be.

Augustine

¶ The grace of Christ, without the which the neyther chyliden nor men maye truste to be saued, is not gyuen for merytes, but is fauourably disposed without deseruynge, and therfore it is called Gratia, (which the dothe sygnifie fauour in englishe.)

Aug. de natura et gratia.

¶ Grace (as I doo suppose) consisteth in thre thynges, in abhorrynge thynges which are

Bernardus

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che are passed in despisinge thynges present, and in desiringe thynges which for vs are prepared.

Augustin. ¶ Grace is gyven for this cause, that the lawe be fulfilled, that nature be restored, and that by synne we be not subdued.

HUMBLINES.

Tobias. **N**ever suffre thou pryde to rule thy wit or sentence: for in her all distraction taketh rote and begynnynge.

Isaia. ¶ On whom sayth our lorde, shall my spíríte rest, but on him that is humble and gentyll, and driedeth my wordes.

Petrus. ¶ God resysteth proude men, but to them that be humble he giueth his grace.

Ecclesiast. ¶ The more honorable thou art, the more humble thy selfe vnto al men, and thou shalt fynde fauour bothe of god and of man.

¶ In thy thought extoll not thy selfe lyke a bull, ne be thou proude of thyn actes, but in humblenes kepe ever thy courage.

Salomon. ¶ The greater thou arte, the more humble be thou, and in the preséce of god, thou shalt fynde grace.

Ecclesiast. ¶ Howe great soo euer thou be, be humble in all thynges, and thou shalt fynde grace before god.

Waste.

The emperor Octavian was wont to say, nothing became worse an emperor or kynge, than haste and foolcs hardynesse: for that whiche was wel done, was sone done.

Sextus Aurelius.

HONOUR.

A Synspyttyng is honour to folcs, as snowe is in sommer, and haylstones in harueste.

Salomon.

Honour nourisheth counnyng, and with prayse mens wytes be kendled to studye.

Tullius.

Honours ouer greate, wherin is pryde, and to moch flatterynges, like great & coroporate bodies, be throwen downe sodaynly.

Plutarchus.

Honours substantial and perfecte, & also fauour of them, which haue a good tourne in remembrance, and be in renderyng thanks very diligent, shulde not be refused.

HYPOCRISY.

Take heed of false prophetes that comme to you in the garmentes of shepe, but within they be rauenouse wolues. by the frutes of them shal ye perceyue them.

Christus apud Mat.

the

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Augustin⁹ **T**he that desireth to seeme that he is not, he is an hypocrite, he sayneth to be good, yet doth he not practise it, for in the prayse of men he esteemeth his profyte.

Augustin⁹ **D**issembled equite is not properly equitie, but double iniquitie, for it is bothe iniquitie and dissimulation.

Gregori⁹. **H**ypocrites are vyle in apparayle and proude in theyr courage, and whyle they seeme to despyse all thynges in this world, they seke by meanes to attayne to al thynges that be of the worlde.

Tullius. **T**he nyghest waye to renoume, is to be suche one in dede, as euery man wolde be reputed.

Aristotel. **T**he that feyneth hym selfe to be a frende and is not, is worse than he that is a forger of money.

Tullius. **O**penly to hate or to loue, more belongeth to a gentyll courage, than to hyde in his countenaunce what his hart thinketh.

HVMBLENES.

Christus. **E**very man that exalteth hym selfe, shal be broughte lowe, and he that humbleth hym selfe shal be aduanced.

Augustin⁹ **A**ll men delyte to be high, the griece is hamyltie, why setteste thou thy foote so farre from the? thou wylte falle and not clyme,

clyme. begynne at the grieece, and thou art
fourthwith at the top.

The that doth gather other vertues with
out humilitie, doth as he that beareth fine
pouder into a boystious wynde. Gregori⁹,

That man is happy, whiche the hygher
that fortune aduanceth his substaunce, so
moche the lower he auayleth his courage. Seneca,

YLL MEN.

Three kindes of people my sowle hath
hated. A poore man proude, an olde
man lacking wyt, a greate man a lyar. Ecclesiast,

There is no hoope of remedye, where
that whyche sommetyme were vices, be
toured to maners. Seneca,

That which the yl man moste diredeth,
shall come vnto hym: and that whyche he
desyrieth, shalbe gyuen vnto good men. Salomon,

The ylle man shall vanysshe away lyke a
storme, the good man shall stande fast, lyke
an euerlastynge foundation.

The warke of an yll man is euer vnsta-
ble, he that soweth good markes, hath a
sure aduantage.

Doo thou none euylle, and none shall
comme to the, Leauē euyl companye, and
euyl wyll forsake the. Ecclesiast,

If a moynane may change his shynne, or
a lyar Hieremias

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a libarde her spottes, ye may also do good,
whan ye are brought vp in ylle.

Seneca. ¶ To hym that doth yll, there is no greater penance, than that he displeaseth all men, and contenteth not hym selfe.

¶ IVSTICE.

Tullius. **N**o man maye be iuste, that feareth neither deathe, payne, exyle, or povertie, or that preferreth theyr contraries before veray equitye.

¶ The foundation of perpetual praise and renoume is iustyce: without the which nothinge is commendable.

Agessilaus. ¶ Kynge Agessilaus beinge demaunded, whyche was the better eyther Iustyce or Fortitude, he answered, If al men were iuste, we neded no fortitude.

Ecclesiast. ¶ The glory of a good mā is to do iustice. ¶ Iustyce exalterh the people, but synne maketh people wretched and myserable.

Alexander the emperour. ¶ The emperour Alexander, heyrng that a poore olde woman was ylintreated with one of his souldiours, he discharged hym, and gaue him in bondage vnto the woman, to gette her, her lyuynge with his crafte, for as moche as he was a carpenter.

Aristides. ¶ Aristides, called the ryghtuous, beinge demaunded of one, If he were ryghtuous of

of his owne nature, Nature sayde he, hath moche holpen me therto, but yet by myne industrie, I haue holpen her also.

¶ In the pathe of Iustyce is lyfe, the way that tourneth therfrom leadeth to deathe. Salomon

¶ Iustyce mounteth the people in honor: sinne maketh people wretched & miserable.

¶ Be not ouer moche iuste in extremyte, and fauour no more than is necessary. Ecclesiast

¶ Desyre sonne, desyrynge wysedome, kepe thou trewe Iustice, and god almyghty will gyue it vnto the. Ecclesiast

¶ There is a iust mā that spareth not him self. Ambrosius

IUDGE.

Accordynge to the iuge of the people, so be his officers. Salomon

¶ Suche as be rulers of a citie, suche be the commons.

¶ Presentes and giftis make blinde iuges. Ecclesiast,

¶ Couet not to be a iuge, excepte thou be of power able to subdue iniquytes, leaste perchaunce thou shalte feare the state of a greate man, and gyue occasiō of rebuke in thyne owne hastynes.

¶ Euerlastynge wo shal to be them, which make vnrightwise lawes, and do wyte agaynst Iustyce, to the entente that they wyl oppresse poore men in iudgement, and vice

Eccl.ii.

lently

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lently subuerte the cause of the people

All doo loue presentes 7 folowe rewar-
des, to the fatherlesse chyld they doo not
minister Justice, the poore wydowes mat-
ter commeth not before them.

Iapfen.

There therfore ye kynges, 7 vnderstand
ye. lern ye iudges of al partes of the world
Gyue eares ye that rule ouer multytudes,
and delite your selfe in the trouble of peo-
ple, for power is gyuen to you frome our
lorde, whych shall examyn your actes, and
inseche your thoughtis: for whan ye were
ministers of his kingedome, ye iudged not
straitely, ne kept the lawes of true iustyce,
ne went after his pleasure, horribly and
shortly he wyll appere to you: for most so-
reste iugementes shal be to them that haue
rule ouer other. To the poore man mercy
is graunted, but the myghty man shal suf-
fre mightily tourmentes.

*Moyse in
Deutero.*

Take thou no gyftes, whiche doo make
wyse men blinde, and peruerte the wordes
of them that be rightuous.

IUDGEMENT.

Salomon.

He that iustificieth an vngracious pson,
and he that condemnerh a good mā,
they before god be both abominable.

Hieremias

The kyte in the aire knoweth her time,
the

the turtl, the stoike, and the swalowe doo come at theyr seasons, my people know not their lordes iugement.

¶ A good man wil not in his frendis cause do against a weale publike, against his oth, nor against the truste, which is put in hym, for he laiethe aside the psonage of a frende, whan he taketh on hym a iudges offyce. Tullius.

¶ The emperour Alexander wolde neuer suffre to be solde the office of a iuge, or gret authozite in the execution of lawes, saying, Nedes muste he selle that dothe bye. And I wyl not lette that there shalbe marchantes of gouernance, whych if I doo suffre I may not condemne: for I am ashamed to punyssh a man that byeth and selleth. Alexāder Augustu.

¶ Themistocles being the chiefe iudge in Athenes, whan there came to hym a great Musitian, whiche desyred of hym a thinge somwhat agaynste Justyce: Themistocles answered, If in syngyng thou doest not regarde Houbrie and Tyme, thou arte not worthy to be called a good musitian, nor I a good iuge, yf I wold preferre before the lawes, the priuate fauor of any one person

¶ IGNORANCE.

¶ If a blynde man doo take vppon hym, to leade one that is blynde, they both shall falle in the dyche. Christ⁹
pud Mat

E.iii.

Sapꝝ

lomon. **CS**apiēce ⁊ doctrine of foles be dispised.

QINGRATITVDE.

lomon. **H**e that dothe render an yuell tourne
for a good, yuelle shall not departe
frome his howse.

spientia. **CT**he hope of a person vnthankesul, shall
relente lyke wynter yse, and as water sus
perfluous shall ran yshe away.

hrisost. **CT**he greater benefites that men do res
ceyue, the more greuous iugement shalbe
gyuen them, if they do offende.

eneas. **CA** good man dothe al thyng well, if he
do all well, he can not be vnkynde.

CThe that thynketh alway to craue, for
getteth what he taketh.

CSin couetyse nothyng is worse thā that
she is vnkynde.

CThe taketh away the mutual cours of gi
uyng and takynge good tournes, who so
ever neglecteth to render equal thanke to
hym that deserueth it.

Plautus. **CT**hat is a persone dishoneste, whiche
knoweth howe to take a benefite, and not
howe to requyte it.

IDELNES.

Antonine. **T**he good emperour Antonine with
drew frome dyuers persones theyr
pensions and salaries, perceyvyng
theym

they mydelle, sayinge, that there was no thyng more reprochfull or cruelle, than that they shulde gnawe and deuoure the weale publyke, whyche with their labour nothyng increased it.

Eldelnes bath taught moch unhappines. *Ecclesiast.*

He that wyll not worke, shall not eate. *Paulus.*

Some times be take from vs, som times *Seneca,*

doo escape vs, somme flowe awaye not vnyttynge vnto vs, but the sowlest losse of tyme is of that, whyche by our negligence dothe slpype away from vs.

Eldelnes weareth strength, as rust doth yron, the bronde vnstered bourneth flowely, and if he be moued, he causeth the fyre este soones to kyndle.

We are not brought vp so by nature, that *Tullius,*
we shuld seme to be made for game and so-
lace, but rather for grauitie, and for somme
studies more serious and weighty.

Eldelnes without lernynge is deth, and *Seneca,*
the graue of a quykke man.

INORDINATE APPETITE.

The roote of all myschiefe is inordy- *Paulus,*
nate appetite, whiche some men fo-
lowing, haue erred from saythe, and
brought them selves into many sorowes.

There are thre thinges specially, which *Innocen-*
ti. *men*

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men be wonte to desyre inordinate, Rycheſſe, bodyly pleasures, and great auctoritie. Of rycheſſe do procede ill thynges, of pleasure diſhoneſt thynges, of auctoritie varne thynges.

Auguſtin⁹ ¶ There is no grief in lackyng, but where there is inordinate desyre in hauyng.

Seneca. ¶ That whiche is other mens, lyketh vs best: that whiche is our owne, lyketh best other. To flee inordinate appetite is very nobilitie: but to subdue it, it is royall and princely.

Tullius. ¶ The reasonable mynde muſte iudge the to be ryche, not thy possessions or mennes estimations.

¶ KVN NYNGE.

Didymus. **A** man to perceiue that he is ignorant, is a token of wysedome, lyke as to perceyue, that he doth wronge, be tokeneth iustice.

Paulus. ¶ In moch kunnyng is moch indignation.

Lactanti⁹. ¶ Kunnyng causeth vs to knowe, whither we shall come: vertue, howe that we may thither come, the oone without the other lyttell auayleth, for of kunnyng spryngeth vertue, of vertue perfect felycitie.

¶ Kunnyng is to knowe god, and to imbrace vertues, in the one is sapience, in the other

other is Iustyce.

Science is a knowlege conuenient, stable, and neuer declynynge from reason. *Galenus.*

Esteme thou moche cunning, to be more worth than coine, for this shortly decaiethe, cunningge euer continueth. *Socrates.*

The wyse Solon made a lawe in Athenes, that the chylde shulde not be bounden to succour his father, of whom he had receyued no maner of doctrine. *Plutarch.*

K Y N G E.

He is in great errour, that thynketh a kynge to be safe in his person, where nothing may be sause from the kyng, sens suretie is assured by mutuall suretie. *Seneca de clementia.*

Theopompus kynge of Lacedemonye, vnto one that demaunded of hym, howe a kynng mought most surely kepe his realme, and defend it, sayd, If he giue to his counsellours lybertie to speake alwaye truthe, and to his power neglecteth not his subiectes, whan they be oppressed. *Theopompus.*

Trouthe and compassion kepeth a king, and his place of astate, with mercy is stablished. *Salomon.*

Oye kinges, if ye delite in high places, and sceptours, make moche of Sapience. *Sapientiz.*

Booste happye is that publyke weale, *Plato.*

E. v. where

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where either manne studious of wisdom
do reygne, or where the kyng is studious
of wisdom.

Seneca.

To be in a fury, it may be called womanly.
¶ It neuer becometh a kyng to be angrye.
¶ If thou wylte subdewe all thynges vnto
the, subdue thy selfe vnto reason: If reason
rule the, thou shalt rule many.
¶ It becometh men to feare theyr pynce,
but moche more to loue hym.

¶ LENDYNGE AND BO-
ROVYNGE.

Salomon. ¶ Lende not to a greater than thou arte,
and if thou haste lende, accompt it for lost.

¶ LOSSE OF A FRENDE OR
OF GOODES.

Salomon. **H**E that is robbed and loseth his cote,
where he hath no mo, if he had lea-
uer lament hym selfe, than to loke a-
bout hym, and provide howe to escape
from colde takynge, and to fynde somme
thinge to couer his shulders with, woldest
thou not thynke hym to be a naturall foole?
Thou haste buried hym, whom thou dyd-
dest loue: Seke nowe for him, whom thou
mayest loue. It is moche better to prepare
eftsones a frende, than to wepe for a frend.
Labour.

By custome of labour we shal make the Tullius.
peyne more easy to suffre.

Cato in an oration which he made Caro,
to the men of armes of Humancia, sayde:
Consyder in youre myndes my felowes,
that whan ye do a thyng well by laboure
and trauaile, the labour sone passeth, the
thyng well done alwaye remaineth. But
if ye do yll by inordinate pleasure, the pleas-
ure sone vanysheth, but the dede that is yll
done neuer remoueth.

It is a token of a feble and tender cou- Pontanus
rage to fle from thynges laborious & peyn-
full, of the forbearynge wherof slouth is
ingendred, and nicenes, and theyr contri-
nuall companion vnthriftines.

To labour in vayne, and a man wering Salustius,
hym selfe to gette nought but dyspleasure,
is extreme peynshenes.

L A V V E.

No lawe is to all men commodious, it Liuius. 34
is inough if to the more parte, and in
a generaltie it be sufficient.

Sharpe punishment of vnleful actes is Cæcilius,
the discipline to lyue well and warely.

The kynge Antiochus wrote to the ci- Plutarch^s
ties,

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ties, beinge vnder his obeisance, commanding them, that if he required them by his letters to do any thinge that was contrary vnto his lawes, that as to him that was ignorant they shuld repugne and deny it.

Dion. ¶ Traiane the emperour moste noble and valiant, by no merciall affaires mought be called from guyng lawes to his people, but that nowe in one place, somtyme in another he wolde syt openly and here suites, and also giue iugementes.

¶ The lawe is good if it be lesfully vsed.

Paulus. ¶ The people that are without lawe, and doo that whiche in the lawe is contened, they be a lawe to them selves.

Tullius. ¶ This is ones certayne, lawes were inuented for the preservation of people and countreys, and for the quiete and prosperous life and astate of men that liue vnder neth them.

Arcefilaus ¶ Lyke as where there be many phisitions and medicines, there are many diseases, so where as are many lawes, there be many myscheues and greatest iniuries.

L A V V E S.

Modestinus **V**where men apprehended in a lyttell trespass, some be greuously punished some vneth are touched, it is greate cause

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cause of dyscorde in a weale publyke.

Lawe is a high reason ingendred in nature, whiche cōmandeth that which ought to be done, and forbyddeth the contrarye. Tullius.

Lawes of men maye be likened to copwebbes, which do tie lytell flies faste, and with great flies are blast. Anaxagoras.

LECHERY.

Lechery is ennemy to god, and enemy to vertues, it consumeth al substance, and delytinge in the appetite present, letteth that a mā can not thynke on pauer-
tic, whiche is not longe absent. Augustin.

If we wyl consider the excellencye of mannes Nature, and the dygnitie thereof, we shall wel perceyue, howe foule and dishonest thyng it is to be resolued in lechery, and to lyue wantonly. Tullius.

Contrary wyse howe honeste and fayre thyng it is to lyue temperately, continently, saddely and sobriely.

Youthe vntemperate and ful of lechery, makethe the bodye to be in age wythered and feble,

LIBERTIE.

A very moche lybertie it is harde to be moderate, or to put a bydell to wanton affections. Hieronymus.

They

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Seneca,

They be out of libertie, that doo not labour in theyr owne busynes, they slepe at an other mannes wycke, and set theyr sete where an other man steppeth.

What is elles liberte, but to lyue as thou woldest?

Theren,

Truely of ouermochelycence happeth great pestylence.

LIBERALITIE.

Aristotel.
ethic. +.
Aristotel,

Honely is liberall, the whiche spendeth after his substaunce, and as it is nedefull.

Liberalitic is not in the multytude or quantitie of that which is gyuen, but in the facion of hym that gyueth, for he disposeth it after his substance.

Seneca,

He gyueth verye late, that gyueth not vntyll his frende craueth.

Beware that thy benefit excede not thy substaunce, for in suche lyberalitye is an appetite to take vnlesfully, that there lacke nothyng to gyue awaye bounteously: for where men gyue and be nedry, they be constrained to plucke estsones from other, of whom they purchase more hatred than fauour of them that they gyue to.

In gyuyng, these thynges must be considered, what thyng, and to whom, howe, where,

where, and wherfore thou gyuest.

¶ When thou emploiest a benefyte, chose suche a personne as is playne and honeste, of good remembraunce, thankeful, absteynyng from the goodes of other, noo nygarde of his owne, and specially to al men beneuolent.

¶ The greatnes of the benefyte is declared oz by the commoditie, oz by the honestie, oz by the necessitie. **Tullius.**

¶ There be two fountaines, which do approue liberalitie, a sure iudgement, and an honest fauour. **Valerius.**

¶ LIFE EVERLASTINGE.

O The depe rycheesse of the wisedome and knowelege of god, the iugementes of them, howe impossible is it to comprehend, howe impossible is it by sekyng to fynde them. who knoweth the mynde of the lorde, oz who was his counsaylour, oz fyrst gaue it to hym? and he shal be recompenced? for of hym, and by hym, and in hym are all thynges, to hym be glory vnto the worlde of worldes. Amen. **Paulus.**
wisedome

¶ That whiche god hath prepared for the that do loue hym, sayth dothe not take it, hope doth not touche it, charitie dothe not apprehende it, it passeth al desyres and wisshes, **Augustin.**
shes,

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Augustin^o **W**hes: gotten it may be, esteemed it can not be.
We maye lyghtelyer tell, what is not in
the lyfe euerlastyng, than what thynges
be there. There is no deathe, there is no
waylyng, there is no werynesse, there is
no sickenesse, there is no hunger, no thurst,
no chaufyng, no corruption, no necessitie,
no heuynesse, no sorowe.

LOYALTIE.

Salomon. **T**he lyenge lippes are to god abhomy-
nable, they that do truely do please hym.

MALICE.

Tullius. **W**ho that prouydeth for an others
distruction, lette hym be sure that a
lyke pestilence is prouided for hym,
so that of a lyke thyng he shal soone after
be partener.

Sapien.
Seneca. **B**y malyce a man sleeth his owne soule.
Malice drynketh the more parte of his
own venime. Serpentes, the venim which
they haue for the distruction of men, with-
out theyr owne perill they kepe it, malyce
hurteth hym most, which dothe reteyne it.

MARIAGE.

Plutarch^o **L**ike as in chaffe or heares of an hare,
fyr is sone kendled and sone put out,
excepte some other thyng be myxt
with

with it to nourishe and kepe it: so loue so-
dainly inflamed in man and wife with beaus-
tie or personage maye not dure longe, ex-
cept beinge ioined with good condicions,
it be nourished with wysedome, and there-
by receiueth a lyuely affection.

Women that had leauer rule folishe hus-
bandes, than obey wyse men, be lyke them
whiche wolde rather leade a blinde man,
than folowe hym that hath both syght and
good vnderstandynge.

House & goodes we receyue of our fren Salomon,
des, a wise wife is properly giuen of god.

Departe not from a wife that is sad and Ecclesiast,
wyse, whiche thou haste taken in the feare
of god, the grace that is in her honestie sur-
mounteth al rychesse.

Arte thou bounden to a wyfe? seke not Paulus,
to be lowsed.

Arte thou louse from a wyfe? seke not
to be maryed.

Maryage in al thynges is honorable, &
the bed immaculate, for god shall iuge for-
nicatours and also aduouters.

Themistocles a noble man, hauynge but Themistoc-
les,
one doughter, demaunded of her, whether

she wold be married eyther to a pooe man
hauynge woorthypful maners, or to a great
man with lewde condicions, She answered,
Sir, I had leauer haue a man lacking pos-

§ lessions.

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sessions, than possessions lackynge a man.

Varro.

The vyce of a wise is eyther to be taken awaye, or to be suffered. He that taketh it away, maketh the wise more commodious, he that suffereth, maketh hym selfe better, by obreyntyng of pacience.

MERCY.

Seneca.

Mercy is a temperaunce of mynde in the power to aduenge.

Compassyon regardeth not the cause, but the estate of the person. Mercy is ioynd with reason.

Tullius.

Nothynge is more comendable, nothynge is more worthy to haue place in a gret mā, than placabylitie of mercy.

**Christ^o 2.
pud Mat.**

Blessed be they that are mercyfulle, for they shall be sure and mercy.

Among many vertues none is more wonderfull, or more gracious than mercy, for in no thyng menne do more appioche towarde god, than in gyuyng to men helth. Fortune maye do no more, nor also nature can wyl no more, than preserue lyfe.

MANERS OF MEN.

Seneca.

In felicitie is inperfection, where thynges dishonest do not onely delyte, but also contente, and there cesseth hope of al remedy

remedy, where that which was vice is turned to be manners.

NATURE.

Virtutes enforced do bringe thynges Seneca,
 ylle to passe. The labour is in vayne,
 wherein nature stryuethe,

All nature of beastes, foules, serpentes,
 and of all other thynges by mans nature is
 tamed.

That whiche is infixed & ingendred by Jacobus,
 nature is not lyghtly remoued by crasste.

Thou doest naught thou man moste vn- Seneca,
 kynde, whiche sayeste that thou haste no
 thyng of god, but of nature. I tel the. Na-
 ture without god is nothyng, nor god is
 without nature, but bothe are one, and be
 not diuers in office.

NECESSITIE.

Necessitie maketh that quicke, whiche Q. Curti
 els wolde be dull, & oftymes dispeire
 is chiefe cause of hope.

Suffer, and blame not that, whiche thou P. Mimus
 mayste not escape.

Thinke howe they that be giued, take Seneca,
 first greuouesly the weight of their irons,
 and lette of their goinge, At the last, when
 they

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they leaue to disdayne those thynges, and, do determyne to suffre them, necessitie compelleth them to beare it valyantly, and custome to thinke the payne easie.

It is Necessitie that in peryll of wicke discharge the shyppe of his burdeyn. It is necessitie, that by plucking downe howses do kepe them from brenning, Time maketh necessitie a lawe.

NOBILITIE.

Lactanti⁹. **V**hat nobilitie ryches or purssuance may be stedfast & sare, sens god maye make kinges baser, yē thā those that be lowest.

Hieronimus. **T**he onlȳ lybertie before god is, Not to do seruyce to synne.

The chiefe nobylitie before god is, To excelle in all vertue.

Chrisost. **W**hat anayleth noble lynage to hym, whiche is with villayne maners reproched? or what reproche is a pooze stocke vnto him, whiche is with good maners adourned?

The that boosteth alwaye of his auncestours, declareth hym selfe to be vnworthy of prayles.

Salustius **T**he more honourable, that the lyfe of the auncestour is after esteemed, the moore reprochfull is the vyce of the lynage that them

them succedeth.

Ephicrates a valyant capitayne, but the sonne of a showmaker, being therwith imbrayded of Ihermodius a noble man borne, answered in this wyse, why bloode taketh begynnyng at me, and thy blode at the now taketh her farewell. Iphicrati

OBSTINACY.

To resyste in vayne, and with moch trauayle, to gette noughte but displeasure, is extreme folye. Salustius,

OBEDIENCE.

What maner obediēce may be there, where vice is moch made of, and rulers not regarded, whose contempt is the original fountaine of mischief in euery weale publyke. Pontanus

Ye seruauntes obey ye your soueraynes carnal in al thynges, not seruing to the eie, as it were to please men, but in symplite of thought fearynge almighty god. Paulus,

Better is obedience than sacrifice. Salomon,
He that resysteth authoutie, resysteth goddis ordinaunce. Paulus.

It is a general couenaunt made by man-
 kynde to be obedient to kynges, how mo- Augustin
 S.iii. che

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che more vnto God, whyche reygneþ ouer all creatures?

Bernardus ¶ If thou wylte be wyse, be euer obediēt, for it is written, Desyrest thou wysedome? than kepe the commaundementes, and god wylł gyue her vnto the.

Theopompus ¶ Theopompus the kinge of Lacedemonia, to one whiche sayde, That the countreye was well kepte, bycause that kynges there knewe howe to gouerne: He answered, No nat so, but rather bycause the people knoweth howe to obey them.

Aristotell. ¶ Some fautes of rulers & officers ought to be tollerate, for he that gothe about to correcte, shall not profyte so moche, as vsē to disobey theyr superiours, shal bynge to men detrimēte.

PACIENCE.

Ecclesiast. ¶ The pacyente manne wylł suffre for a tyme, and after shall come restytution of gladnesse.

¶ All that hapneth vnto the, suffre in thy trouble, and haue pacyence alwaye in thy pouertie: for golde and syluer are proued with fire, and men be acceptable whan they be in the ouen of worldely aduersytie.

Ambrosi⁹. ¶ Better is he that contemneth wronge, thā he that is greued therwith, for he that contem-

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contemneth it, dothe despise it, as if he felt it not, but he that is greuid therewith, is turmented, as if he felte it.

Ef thou wylte be noble of courage, suppose that no displeasure maye happen vnto the, but say this of thyn enemy, he wold haue hurte me, but he hurteth me not: and whan thou perceyuest him to be in thy danger, thynke that to be vengeance sufficient that thou moughtest be reuenged. *Seneca.*

PEACE.

Blessed be they that make peace, for they shal be callid the children of god. *Christo apud Matt Idem.*
Euery realme deuyled agaynst hym selfe shal be made desolate, and cuery citie or house in hym selfe deuyled shal not stand or abyde.

He that hath not peace of the harte, the mouthe, and the acte, ought not to be called a chrysten man. *Augustine*

He that punyssheth his body and kepeth not concoide, he praiseth god on the tabernacle and not in the quier. *Hieronymus.*

PERIVRY.

He that prouoketh a man for to swere, and knoweth that he shal swere falsly, he is worse than a murderer, for a
§.iiii. murder

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murderer sleeth the body, but he sleeth the
fowle, y^e two fowles togither, his, whom
he procured to swere, and also his owne.

Tullius. ¶ The punishment of piurie by goddis
law is deth, by mans law perpetual infamy

Augustin⁹ ¶ I say vnto you, that ye in no wyse doo
swear, lest that by swearynge ye come to
the poynte to swear lyghtely, and by that
lyghtnes ye come vnto custome, and from
custome ye fall into periury.

Io, Chrys. ¶ He that is redy to be forsworne, he ses
meth to be forsworne before he swear fals
ly, for god iudgeth not onely by deedes, but
also by thoughtes whiche procede frome
the harte.

Idem. ¶ No man swereth often, but he is some-
tyme forsworne. lyke as he that vseth to
speke moch, speketh somtime thynges out

Sdorus. of season.

¶ He is a double offendour that taketh
the name of god in vaine and deceiueth his
neighbour.

¶ PERYLLE.

L. Curti⁹ ¶ There is nothing so sure, that it is out
of daunger, perchance of that thyng,
whiche is of no puissance.

Socrates. ¶ If thou mayst not clerely escape out of
peryl, chose rather to dye honestly, than to
lyue shamefully.

Power=

IT is soone made redy and easy, that nature desyreth, to thynges superfluous, sweatte is requyred. Seneca.

¶ The pacience of pooze men at the ende shall not peryshe. Dauid.

¶ Better is litle in the fere of our lord, thā great trefure, which wyl neuer be faciate. Salomon.

¶ They be poze in spirite, which whā they do good, they gyue prayes to god, whā they do yll, they laye faute in them selves. Augustin.

¶ The lyfe of man is not in abundaunce of rychesse, but in vertue and faythe, this trefure shall make the a ryche man, if thou be ryche to godwarde. Ambrosi.

¶ If thou wilt liue after nature, thou shalt neuer be pooze, if after thine opinion, thou shalt neuer be ryche. Seneca.

¶ PRAYER.

God is far from them whiche do not honour hym, and gladly he wil here the prayers of good men. Salomon.

¶ Watche and praye ye, that he entre not into temptation. Christus.

¶ Thy prayer is thy speche vnto god. whā thou readeest, god talketh with the: whā thou praieest thou talkest with god. Augustin.

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Augustin⁹ ¶ The two wynges wherwith a man fleeth vnto god, be these, if thou forgyueste hym whiche hath offended the, and helpest hym who hath nede of the.

Hieronymus. ¶ With fastynge corporall passyons are to be cured : with prayer the pestylence of mannes mynde is to be healed.

¶ PVISSAUNCE.

Seneca. ¶ It is a pestilent puissaunce, to be of power to do harme.

¶ PRODIGALITIE.

Tullius. ¶ What thinge is more folysh, than to indeuour thy self to do gladly a thing that thou mayst do it no longer?

Tullius. ¶ Excessiue expenses of that which shulde maynteine thy householde, drinketh vp the fountayne of iuste lyberalitie.

¶ PROSPERITIE.

Augustin⁹ ¶ If god suffre ill men to haue moche prosperite, than his indignatiō is moch more greuouse. If he leaue ill deedes unpunished than is his punishment more dreadesfull and peryllous.

Idem. ¶ The world is more daungerouse laughinginge

inge than lowrynge.

E If thou haddest the wysedome of Salomon, the beauty of Absolon, the puissance of Samson, the long lyfe of Enoch, the rycheesse of Trefus, the power of Octauiane, what can all this auayle the? whan fynally the bodye is gyuen to wormes, the soule vnto deuylls, to be with the riche man in payne euerlastyng.

Hieronymus,

In all fortunes aduersitie, the mooste unhappy channce is, to haue ben ones happy

Boetius.

Derfite felicitie is the vse of vertue.

Arist.

E Moche abundance maketh corne to ly, boughes are broken with theyr own bourden, the fruite that comineth often cometh seldome to rypenesse.

Seneca.

PROVIDENCE.

P Lato dothe lyken mannes lyfe vnto a chaunce of dyce, the better it is, the more is it desired of hym that casteth it : but what so euer chaunce cometh, there is good craste in the vsyng of euery thyng as it happeth, the one is not in vs, that is to say, what we shall throwe : the other is in vs, yf we be wyse : that is to say, to take in good worthe the chaunce that doth fall : and appoynte to euery thyng his place, so that the thyng that wel chaunceth may profyte

Plato

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 profyte vs, and that whiche euyl chaunc
 certh maye not indomage vs.

PRYDE,

Ecclesiast. **T**hise kynde of thynges my soule hath
 moche hated, and I am moch discon
 tent with theyr disposition.

Iacobus. **A** poore man proude, a great man a liar,
 an olde man a foole, and lacking discretion.

Phoclid. **G**od resisteth them that be proude, ⁊ to
 them that be humble, he gyueth his grace.

Phoclid. **B**e not proude in wisedome, in strength,
 nor in rycheffe: it is one god that is wyse,
 puissant, and full of felicitie.

PRVDENCE,

Tullius. **P**rudence consisteth in the knowledge
 of thynges good and yll.

Salomon. **A** wyse man doth al thyng by coun
 cell, and a foole soone discouereth his foly

Ecclesiast. **M**ore easely may one resist yll motions,
 than rule them, and more easly refuse them
 than modreate them.

Liuius. **T**o him whom fortune neuer deceyued,
 it is no foly to remembre the vncertayntie
 of sondry aduentures.

Salustius. **T**he helpe of god is not onely gotten
 with wyshes and prayers; but by vigilante
 study,

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study, diligent executynge, and wise coun-
saylynge, all thynges come to passe.

¶ Separate them that do craftely flatter the from those that do faithfullly loue the, lest the yll men haue most profyte by the. *Isocrates,*

¶ Be sure of frendes, that speake not ay pleasauntly. *Aeschilus,*

¶ Those, whiche to content the, wil speke vntruthfully, forbyd them thy house, and put them out quykely.

PROMISE.

Those promyses are not to be kepte, whiche a man maketh either by fere compelled, or by craft deceiued. *Tol. off. 1.*

¶ The noble kynge Agesilaus, to one whiche sayd to him, ye haue promised: By god said he, that haue I, if it be right: If not, I than spake, but I promysed not. *Agesilaus,*

¶ The foundation of iustyce is credence, that is to say, constantnes and trouth in saynges and promyses. *Tullius,*

¶ Those promyses ar not to be kept, which be harmeful to them, vnto whom thou hast promised, or by the which thou shalt receiue more detrimente, than they, to whom thou madest promise, may therby take profyte.

¶ The shamesul confession of fraude and commune mischiefe of man: more credence *Seneca,*
is

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is gyven to mennes signettes, than to their
soules.

PASTYME.

Tul. off. 1. **N**ature broughte vs nat forthe, as we
shuld seme to be made for pastyme z
solace, but rather to grauitie and stud-
ies of more weighty importance.
Recreation of wittes are to be suffered,
for whanne they haue a whyle rested, they
spring vp oftentimes more better z quicker.

PVBLIKE VVEALE.

Senec2. **T**o vse the publike weale for a particu-
lar gaine or aduantage, is not onely a
thing foule z dishonest, but also mis-
cheuous and very abomynable.

Plutarch. **T**o change sodainly the customes z dis-
position of people, z with new lawes hastily
to rule them, it is not only harde, but also
vnsure, as the thinge that requireth moche
tyme with great power and authoritie.

Lyke as the hande deuided in fyngers,
is therfore neuer the feebler, but to euery
pourpose is the apter and redyer: soo he
that ioyneth to hym other in the gouer-
naunce of a weale publyke, ayded with cō-
panye, shall accomplishe the thyng in ex-
perience

perience the more effectually.

A prince of a weale publike ought with all studye and diligence expelle and dryue oute of his countrey ambycion and sumptuous expences, wherewith the mynde beinge nourished and styred, is made more cruelle and fyerce, and with a prodigalle wantonnesse appereth to be riotious: and yf he can not bynge it to passe, at the leste let hym abhorre them, and kepe hym selfe from theym, and resyst to his power those that desire it, and with all mischiefe do asfaye to attayne it.

Dwell not (sayd Plato) where superfluous expences do surmonnte the reuenues, nor where yll men be more made of thanne good menne, nor where the rulers, for the more parte be lyers.

Plato in
Lactio.

Q V I E T E N E S O F M Y N D E.

Are thou put from thyn office? thou shalt be the more at home, and the better applye thine owne businesse. Thou labourest to be nygh the kynge, but thou art disapoynted: thou shalt lyue more surely, and in the lasse businesse. But thou arte turmoyled with moche care and busynesse? ye warme water (as Pyndare saith) dothe not so swetely ease and comforte the
delycate

Plutarch⁹

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delicate membres, as honour ioyned with authoritie maketh labour pleasaunt, and to sweate easly.

Seneca.

TO hym that wolde be quiete, and lyue in moste suretie, the ryght waye is, to sette nought by exteriour thynges, and to be onely contented with vertue: for who so euer este meth any thyng to be aboue vertue, ye or to be good, but vertue onely: he setteth forth his breste naked to all thyng that flyeth frome the hande of blynde Fortune, and with greate studye and deligence abyrdeth her shotte.

REASON.

Tullius.

Not only fortune helpeth men that be valyant (as is the old prouerbe) but reason moch more, which as it were with preceptes, confirmeth the puissaunce of prowesse.

What thyng in a man is beste? Reason: for by that he goeth before beastes, and followeth the goddes. wherfore a perfecte reason is that good, whiche propriely belongeth to man, al other thynges is to him commune with beastes: for if he be strong, so is the lyon: yf he be fayre, so is the peacocke: if he be swyfte, so is the horse, I doo not saye that in euery of these thynges the
other

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other surmonnte hym, for I seke not that thyng, whiche is moſte excellent in hym, but that which is his owne, and belongeth properly to hym, for as he hath ſubſtance, ſo hath the trees: And as he hath voluntary meynge, in lyke wyſe hath not onely the beaſtes, but alſo the wormes: If he haue a voyce, ſo hath dogges & moche lowder, the egles more ſharpe and Percyng, the bull moche greater, the nyghtyngale ſweter. Than what thyng properlye is a mans owne? ſurely reaſon: for that beinge in the ryght cours and perfecte, maketh a man full of felicitie.

RELIGION.

Relygion pure and immaculate in the ſight of god, is to ſuccour pore children and wydowes in their tribulation, and to kepe them ſelfe vncorrupted in this temporall worlde. Iacobus,

The is a ſtronger theſe, and turneth gods houſe into a theſes cabyn, that of religion ſeketh promotion. Hieronymus,

REPORT.

Among thy frendes detract not the thyng, nor in the moſt ſecrete place of thy chaumbre repote none euyll of a great man: for the birdes of heuen wil beare

Eccleſiaſt,

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beare about thy voyce, and they that haue
fethers, wyll tell thyne opinion.

¶ RICHES.

Q. Curti.

Tso moch riches makith place to losse
Some thinges be more easily gotten than keppe.

Salomon.

¶ Rychesse shal nothynge auayle, whanne
god wyll take vengeance: good dedes shal
delyuer man from damnation.

Salomon.

¶ Substaunce soone gotten shal appaire:
and that whiche is gathered by lyttell and
lyttell, shal increase in thy handes.

¶ Ryches becometh not a foole, nor a vile
seruant to haue rule ouer princes.

¶ He that gadreth treasure with a tongue
full of lyes, is vayne glorious and folysh, &
at the laste shal fal into the halters of deth.

Ecclesiast.

¶ That riche man is blessed, that is foude
without blemyshe, and that foloweth not,
ryches, nor putteth his trust in money and
treasure. Lette se who is he, and we wylle
commende hym. For in his lyfe he hath
done wonders.

Paulus.

¶ They that wold be rich do fal into temp
tation, & the snare of the diuel, also into ma
ny vnprofitable & harmful desyres, whiche
drowne men in deth and pardytion.

Paulus.

¶ Commande thou the riche men of this
worlde, that they presume not to hyghely,
nor

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nor trust to the incertaintie of their riches
but to do wel in god, that lyuerh euer, whi-
che giuerh vs abundantly al thynges to vse
at our libertie, and to be riche in good wor-
kes, and to giue gētilly, to participate with
other, and to make with theyr treasure a
good foundation for the tyme commynge,
for attaynyng to the lyfe, whiche is veray
certayne.

S A P I E N C E.

Men called wise menne are not to be
honored for every worde that they
speake, but for their stabilitie & con-
stancie in vertue. Tullius,
tusc. 5.

Encinis becommen wyse by companye of
wyse men. Euripides

The ardent desire of wysdom bryngeth
one to the euerlastinge kyngedome. Sapientia.

O ye rulers of people, see that ye loue
wisdom, that ye maye haue a perpetuall
kyngedome. Ecclesiast.

The rote of wysdom is to fere god, &
the bchaunches therof be of longe lyfe. Ecclesiast.

A wyse harte and that hath vnderstans-
dyng, wyll absteyne from yll dedes, and in
warke of iustice, his purpose shal prosper

The thoughtes of a wise manne at noo
tyme, nor for any feare shal be depraued.

A temperate and moderate persone, ne- Tullius,

B.ii. des

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des must be constant, he that is constant, is quiete of mynde, he that is quiete, hath no vexation, and consequently, no grieve or disease: and all these thynges do perreyne to a wyse manne. wherfore it foloweth, no grieve or dysease maye be in a wyse man.

Seneca,

The greatest token and offyce of sapience, is that the dedes do agree with the wordes, and that the persone be ever one, and lyke to hym selfe.

Let thy minde and thoughtes herto extend: onely wishe and busily care, for to be with thy selfe alwaye contente, and satisfi- ed with the goodes that of the do procede al other desyres referrynge to god.

Sapientia,

Wysedome excelleth strengthe, and the prudent persone, is to be preferred before hym that is puissaunt.

A wyse mans ioy is so surely wroughte, that no fortune may breke it, and is alwaye and in euery place quiete: It dependeth on none other thyng but it selfe, nor lokethe for the fauour of man or of fortune.

SCRIPTURE.

Paulus,

A scripture inspired of god is profitable to teache or to reprove, to correct to instructe in iustice, that the man of god be perfyte, and furnished vnto

unto euery good warke.

The scripture and the creature serue bothe for this pourpose, that he maye be sought for and loued, that created the creature, and inspyred the scripture. Augustin

If accordynge to the sayenge of Paule, Chyrste is the vertue of god and his wise dome, he that knoweth not scripture knoweth not the vertue and wisdom of god, for the igrozaunce of scripture is lacke of knowlege of Chyrste. Hieronimus.

Let vs not thynke that the gospel is in the wordes of scripture, but in the vnderstandynge, not in the skynne, but in the marowe, not in the leaues of wordes, but in the depe rotes of reason. Hieronimus.

SIMPLICITIE OR PLAINNES

The simplicitie of iust men shal adresse them to god, And the deceyte of yll men shall be theyr distruction. Salomon.

The iust man that walketh in his simplicitie shall leaue his childre after him happy

Prudence without simplicitie is malice and craft, and simplicitie without prudence is maystresse of foly. Hieronimus.

BANKET OF SICKNES.

- Seneca.** Suffraunce of syckenes is tollerable, if thou contemne that whiche laste of all she dothe menace.
- Salomon.** In many meates is hid moche sickenes.
- Seneca.** Nothinge so moch letteth helth, as ofte chaunge of medycines: The plante neuer proueth that is ostentymes set.
- Io Damas-
scenus.** The first cure of sicknes, is the preparation of good ayre, whiche conserueth the harte: The seconde is moderation & order of meate and drynke: The thyrde is in dysrection of labour and rest: the fourth is forbearynge to moche slepe and watche: The fyfte is the discretion in expellyng or stoppyng the humours: The sixte is the temperaunce of gladnes, angre, feare, and sorrowe. The departyng of these from their equal temperance is cause of all sickenesse.

¶ SUPERSTICION.

- Q. Curti^{us}** Noughtinge more effectuallye ruleth a multitude than superstition, elles be they unrulye cruel and mutable.
- Tullius.** Not only philosophers, but al our forefathers dydde cuer seperate Superstition, from true relygion: for they whiche prayed al day, that theyr children mought ouerlyue

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lyue them, were called superstitious, whiche name after ward was larger extended.

The that is inclyned to superstition, shall neuer be quiete.

Superstycion is a madde errour, for it Seneca, feareth them, whiche ought to be loued, & whom he worshypperth, them doth he violate, what diuersytie is it, whether thou denyest god or spekest yll of hym?

SHAMFASTNES.

That whiche thou arte ashamed to Hieronimus, speake, be also ashamed to thynke.

Shamfastnes is to be moch made Seneca, of, for as long as that abydethe in the mynde, there is yet a place for good hope to reste in.

Diogenes, beholdynge a yonge manne Diogenes blushe, sayde vnto hym: sonne be of good comfort, this is the right colour of vertue.

SILENCE.

Receiue not a swalowe into thy hous: Pythagoras, that is to saye, haue not in thy house clatterers and men full of language.

An yll man is soner vanquished with silence than with answers: for malice is sooner styred with wordes than reformed.

Eccl.iii. Lyke

Salomon. **L**yke as a citie is, which standeth wide open, and is not compassed with walles: so is a man, which can not kepe silence.

¶ TRVTHE.

Dauid. **A**ll the wayes of our lorde is mercy and trouthe.

Hieronimus. **L**et thy tongue be igno:ant of lyinge and swerynge, and loue so wel truthe that what so euer thou spekest, thinke that thou swearest.

Lactanti⁹. **T**routh most commonly, with many wordes is scatered to nothyng.

¶ TEMPERANCE.

Plutarch⁹ **T**he welle ordered Countreie or citie those expences be thought mete and conuenient, that be lytel & moderate, the ende wherof is necessary and honeste, pleasaunt and thankefulle: soo that it lacke bothe reproche and damage.

Plutarch⁹ **T**emperate and moderate person, not wanton nor affectionate to his owne appetite, maye be to no manne in his countrey chargeouse, to no man cruelle or greuous, to noo man daungerous: for he is of nature famylar and gentyll, easy to men that wyll comme and speake with hym, whose howse

howse is vnlocked, not shutte, but open to all menne, where euery man, as it were in tempestes and stormes, may repayre for theyr succours.

What dothe that man lacke to liue in felicitie, whom valyant courage deliuerethe from al sorowe and feare, and Temperāce calleth from carnall appetite, and letterly him not excede in foolyshe reioysynge?

TALE BEARERS.

Tell no yll tales of god and his sayntes, nor repute not ylle of the prince of thy countrey. Salomon,

All reporters be to god odious.

Paulus.
Hieronis
mus.

No one offendeth the tale bearer that missheth the loue in a mans harte frome his nygh frende or neyghbour, thanne he that pulleth meate frome the mouthe of a hungry begger. For lyke as the soule is more precious than the mortall bodye: so is the foode of the soule of more estimation, than the nouryshment of carryne.

VERTUE.

No man maye be sayd to lyue a shorte tyme, that hath attayned of perfect vertue the perfecte rewarde. Tuloff.

B.v.

It

- Gelasius.** ¶ It becometh vertue to be free frome all drede, and out of subiection.
- Tullius.** ¶ Vertue is euer one, with mooste deepe
Tusc. rotes perfectly sette, whych with no manner of violence maye be destroyed.
- Aristotel.** ¶ It is the vertue of an honorable personage, commendably to rule, & also be ruled
- Paulus.** ¶ Flee frome yonge and wanton desires, and folowe Iustyce, faythe, charitie, and peace, with them which honour god with a cleane harte.
- Laſanti⁹.** ¶ Vertue is to be honored, not the image of vertue, nor she is not to be honoured with censynge or prayer, but onelye with a good wyll and purpose.
- Paulus.** ¶ Vertue is to restraine anger, to mitigate desyre, and to refrayne carnall pleasure.
¶ The frutes of the spirite is charite, ioy fulnesse, peace, pacience, bounteousenes, goodnesse, long suffrance, gentylnes, faith, temperance, continence, and chastitie.
- Arist.** ¶ As the comynge of one swalowe maketh not springe tyme, nor one hotte daye or houre maketh not sommer: so one vertue maketh not a vertuouse person, nor one lyttel tyme in prosperitie, setteth not a man in perfecte felycitie.
- Salustius** ¶ Where riches is honoured, and estimation rule and authoryrie thereon attendeth, there vertue waxeth dulle, pouertie is had
in

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in reprocche, innocency is reputed for ylle
wyll or malyce.

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¶ **VOLVPTVOVSNES.**

C Alto the elder inuehinge agynste the
people for theȝ inordinate lyuynge,
sayd, It is in vayne to talke to a beas-
ly that lackerth eares.

Cato.

¶ **VVYFE.**

A Solyshe chylde is the fathers hart-
fore, and a braulyng wyfe is a house
alway droppynge.

Salomon.

¶ A wyse woman buyldeth vp a house.

¶ An vnwyse woman wyll destroye with
her handes that whiche is buylded.

¶ That manne is blessed that hath a good
wyfe: the yeres of the therby are doubled.

Philo.in

¶ No heed is more myscheuous than the
heed of an adder, no wrathe eycedeth the
wrathe of a woman.

Sapient.
Ecclesiast.

¶ It is more pleasaunt abydinge with a li-
on or dragon, than to dwel with a vengea-
ble woman.

¶ Lyke as the klymmynge on a sondy hill
is to the fete of an olde manne, soo is a cla-
teryng woman to a man that is quiete.

¶ A woman if she haue souerayntyte, is to
her

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her husbände frowarde and contrary.

Gryue not to the water that serueth thy house neuer so lyttell an issue: nor to an yll wyfe lycence to wander.

A constant wife reioyseth her husband, & in peace shal prolōg the terme of his life.

A stedfast woman is a golden pyllar set on baces of syluer.

VAYNGLORY.

Paulus. **L**et vs not be desyrus of vayneglory, one prouokynge the other with mu-
tuall enuy.

Augustin⁹ **T**he vaynglorye of this worlde is a de-
ceipfull sweteness, an vnfructfull labour, a
continuall feare, a dangerous aduancement, a begynnynge without prouydence,
an ende without repentaunce.

Ambrosi⁹. **T**here is not so moch ioy in highe cly-
ming vpward, as there is sorowe in falling
hard downward: nor so moch renoume af-
ter victory, as after ruine reproche of foly.
What shulde he that is stronge, auauante
of his strengthe, whom bodyly syckenesse
bryngeth to febleness?
What shulde the ryche man auant of his
rychesse, whose hope by a thefe or a tyrant
is sone dissappoynted.

Virgi:

Virginitie is syſter of aungelles, vane Cyprian?
quyſher of luſtes, prynceſſe of ver-
tues, poſſeſſour of good thynges.

¶ The woman vnmarried, and the mayden Paulus.
vncorrupted, thyinke on thynges that per-
terne vnto god, to the entente to be holpe
in body and ſoule.

¶ What profyteth a hole body with a mind Auguſtin?
corrupted? Better is an humble matrimo-
nye than a proude virginie.

¶ A maydens ſpeche wolde be cyrcum- Ambroſe,
ſpecte, ſobie, ⁊ ſelde: not ſo excellent in e-
loquence, as in baſhefulnes. whā thou ſpe-
keſt, let men maruaile at thy ſhamefaſtnes:
whā thou ſpekeſt not, let them wonder at
thy wyſedome and ſobrenelle.

¶ VVRATHE.

Aſole immediately dyſcouereth his Salomon.
angre, he that hydeth his iniurie, is
wyſe and crafty.

¶ An angry perſone prouoketh contenti-
on, but he that is pacient, appeaſeth debate
whā it is ſtyred.

¶ Be not familiar with a man ful of angre
nor kepe not company with a furyous per-
ſone, leſte thou lerne his wayes, and cauſe
thy

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thy soule thereby to offende.

Jacobus. ¶ Let euery man be swyft in hering, slowe in speche, and slowe in displeasure.

Gregori⁹. ¶ By wrathe, wysedome is loste, so that it can not appere, what shoulde be done, nor howe it ought to be done.

Seneca. ¶ The chiefe remedie of angre is delaye, that the fury may abate, and the darkenes that makerh wytte blynde, may decay, or at the lesse way be not so grosse.

Blas. ¶ Haste and wrath be the chief ennemies of counsaile

Plato ¶ Plato, being demaunded, wherby a wise man is best knowen, he sayde: A wyse man whanne he is rebuked, is therewith not angry, nor any thyng the prouder, whan he is praysed.

¶ FINIS.

¶ LONDINI in ædibus Thomæ Bertheletii typis impress.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum,

ANNO. M. D. XXXIX.

THE IMAGE
OF GOVERNANCE

COMPILED OF THE AC-
TES AND SENTENCES

notable, of the most no-
ble Emperour Alex-
ander Seuerus,
late transla-
ted out

of
Greke into Englyshe, by sy:
Thomas Eliot knight,
in the fauour of
Nobyltie.



ANNO. M. D. XLI.



SO TO AL THE NOBILITIE
OF THIS FLOVRYSHYNGE ROYALME
OF ENGLANDE, THOMAS ELYOT
KNYCHT DESYRETH IN-
CREASE OF VERTVE
AND HONOVR.



S I LATE VVAS ser-
ching among my boke, to finde some
argument, in the readinge wherof I
mought recreate my spyrites, beinge
almoste fatigate with the longe study
aboute the correctinge and amplia-
tinge of my Dictionary, of Latine and Englishe, I
happed to fynde certeyne quaites of paper, which I
had wryten about. ix. yeres passed: wherin were con-
tayned the actes and sentences notable, of the moste
noble Emperour Alexander, for his wysedome and
grauity callid Seuerus, which boke was first wryten
in the greke tung by his secretary named Eucolpius,
and by good chaunce was lente vnto me by a gentille
man of Naples called Dudericus. In reading wher-
of I was maruaylously rauished, and as it hath ben
euer myn appetite, I wished that it had ben publi-
shed in such a tunge, as mo men mought vnderstande
it. wherfore with all diligence I endeouored my selfe
whiles I had leysour, to translate it into englishe: all
be it I coude not so exactly perfoyme myn enterpryse,
as I mought haue done, if the owner had not impo-
tunately called for his boke, wherby I was constrai-
ned to leue some part of the wark vnttranslated: which

I made bp, as welle as I coulde, with somme other
Autours aswel latines as grekis. hauing this boke
in my hands I remembred, that in my boke named the
Gouernour, I promised to wryte a boke of the forme
of good gouernance: And for as moch as in this boke
was expressed of gouernance so perfit an ymage, I
supposed, that I shuld sufficiently discharge my selfe
of my promise, if I dyd nowe publiſhe this boke, whi-
che (except I be moche deceyued) shall minister to the
wyse readars both pleasure and profite. Than did I
efftsones peruse it, and with moze exact diligence con-
forme the style therof with the phrase of our englische,
desiringe moze to make it playne to all readers, than
to flourish it with ouer moch eloquence. which boke
I do dedicate vnto you noble lordis, gentil knightes,
and other in the state of honour or worſhip, as beinge
moſte redy to be aduanced to gouernance vnder your
Princc: so that your vertues be correspondent vnto
your fortunes. Yet am I not ignoraunt that diuerſe
there be, which do not thankfully esteime my labours,
dispraysinge my studies as vayne and vnprofitable,
sayinge in derision, that I haue nothing wonne ther-
by, but the name onely of a maker of bokes, and that
I sette the trees, but the printer eateth the fruites. In
dede al though disdaine & enuy do cause them to speke
it, yet will I not deny, but that they saye truly: for yf
I wold haue employed my study about the increace of
my priuate comodity, which I haue spent in wry-
tinge of bokes for others necessary, few men doubt (I
suppose) that do knowe me, but that I shuld haue at-
tayned or this tyme to haue ben moche moze welthy,
& in respect of the worlde in a moze estimation. But to
excuse

excuse me of folly, I will professe without arrogauce, that when I consydered, that kunninge contynueth whan fortune flytteth, hauinge also rynging alway in myn eare, the terrible checke that the good maister in the gospell gaue to his ydel seruaunte, for hidinge his money in a clowte, and not disposinge it for his maisters aduantage, those two wordes, *Serue nequam*, so Mat. 18, sterid my spirites, that it caused me to take moze regarde to my last rekning, than to any riches or worldy promotion. And all thoughe I do neither dyspute nor expounde holy scripture, yet in suche warkes as I haue and intend to sette forth, my pooze talent shall be, God willinge, in such wise bestowed, that no mannes conscience shall be therewith offended, my boke called the *Gouernour*, instructinge men in suche vertues as shall be expediet for them, which shall haue authority in a wele publike. The *Doctrinal of princis*, which are but the counsayles of wylse *Istocrates*, inducinge into noble mens wittes honest opinions. The *Educacion of children*, whiche also I translated oute of the wise *Plutarche*, making men and women, which will folow those rules, to be wel worthy to be fathers and mothers. The litel *Basquill* although he be mery and playne, teching as well seruantes how to be faythfull vnto their maisters, as also masters how to be circumspect in espying of flaterars. Semblably thoffice of a good coucellour, with magnanimity or good courage in tyme of aduersity, may be apparantly founden in my boke called, *Of the knowlege belöging to a wise man*. In reding the sermon of saynt *Cyprian* by me translated, the deuout reader shall fynd no litle comfort in plagges or calamities. The banket of *Sapiëce* is not fasti-

diousse, and in litle rome shewith out of holy scripture many wise sentences. The Castel of Helth being truly rad, shal longe pserue men (being some phisicions neuer so angry) frō perillousse siknes. My litle boke calid the defēce of good women, not only confoīdeth villainous repoyt, but also teachith good wiues to know well their dueties. My Dictionary declatunge latyne by englishe, by that tyme that I haue perfozmed it, shall not only serue foz childezen, as men haue excepted it, but also shall be commodiousse foz them which perchaunce be well lerned. And this present boke, whiche I haue named the Image of gouernaunce, shall be to all them which wil reade it sincerely, a very true paterne, wherby they may shape all their proccdinges. And in none of these warkes I dare vndertake, a man shall finde any sentence against the cōmandmentes of god, the trewe catholyke faythe, oz occasion to stere men to wanton deuises. Wherfoze I trust vnto god, myn account shall of hym be fauozably accepted: all though some ingrate persons with ille repoyte oz mockes requite yll my labours: to whom I will only recyte this mery fable of Escopē, witen by Maximus Planudes.

A good woman had an husband, who wold be ofte tymes dzunken, wherwith she beinge ashamed, and diuisinge by what meane she might cause hym to leue that horrible vice, at the laste whan he was a slepe, she caried hym vnto the charnell house, wherin were put the bones of deade men, and leuing him lyinge there, she made faste the doze, and departed. And whan she thought that he was wakynge, she takynge with her byede and meate, retourned to the charnell house and knocked at the doze, her housband sayntly asked who
knocked

knocked there, the good woman answered, **I** which haue brought meate with me for the dead men, peace sayd her husbände, thou increasest my payne in speakinge of meate, bringe me some drinke **I** beseeche the. That hearing the good woman, alas sayd she that euer **I** was boine, for this vyce gotten by custome, my housbände hath made it a naturall habyte, which will neuer forsake hym.

This fable nedeth no declaration: for every man may perceiue what it meneth. Whoeuer many being ignorant of good letters, do vniuersally reprove all them that be studious in learninge, alleginge this commune proverbe, The greatest clarkes be not the wisest men: affirming, that they be founden negligent about their owne profit, and consequently vnapt to the ministracion of thinges of waighty importance. How untrue their allegations be, & on how feble a foundation they are builded, it shall in this wise appere vnto wise men. First the sayd proverbe semeth by him which lacked learninge, to be deuised, sens that he preferreth ignorance before kunninge: whiche arrogance declared hym to be a very foole, and vnwitty: consideringe that by knowlege most chiefly, a mā excelleth al other mortall creatures, and thereby is moste like vnto god. And learninge is none other thinge, but an aggregation of many mens sentences & actes to the augmentation of knowlege. And if som lerned men do neglect their temporal commodities, it is for one of these causes: epther by cause they haue ben so desirous of knowlege, and in respect thereof esteemed so lytle all other pleasures, that they thought the tyme all to lytle, which they dyd spend in it, holdinge them selves with that which seru-
ued

ued foꝛ natures necessitie right wel cōtēted, oꝛ els like as the grehound that was sent to great Alexander by the king of Albania, whā there were shewed vnto him seuerally a gret hart, a boze, & a beare, he vouched not sault to loke on them, but lay still wagging his tayle: thā was there brought foꝛth a great lyon, to whom he dyd arise softly, and setting bp his bystels, & shewing his tethe, sleing to the lyon, lightly strangled him. Afterwarde a puyssante olyfante beunge brought to the place, the grehounde sempyng to reioyce at the greatnesse of the beste, roused him, and after two oꝛ thre questinges, he lept to the great olyphant, and after a long fight ouerthrew him and kyled him. So I dout not but that som men there be liuing, in whom is such courage, that in thinges of lytle importance may seme to be negligent, disdayninge as it were to spend their wittes oꝛ labours about the pelsry of riches: which be inge oncs called to authozity toynd with liberty, wil infoꝛce them selves to make their ministrations noble & excellent. Suche were Solon, Aristides, and Phocion in Athenes, Publicola, Fabritius, Curius, and Cato Uticensis at Rome, whose lyues I wold to god were in Englyshe, and the lyke be nowe lyuyng, yf they were sought foꝛ.

¶ And foꝛ the confutation of that pestiferous opiniō y gret lerned men be vnapt to the ministratiō of thinges of waighty importāce, this shalbe sufficient. First as I late said lerning is the augmetatio of knowlege, which the moze that it is, the moze maye be perceiued what shalbe most necessary in thinges which happe in consultation. & the moze that it is perceyued, the better and moze aptly may it be ministrated and executed. Ex-
amples

amples we haue of Moyses, who beinge excellently lerned in the most dyffuse doctrines of the Egyptians & Ethiopians, was by almighty god chosen to guide and rule his people, which were innumerable & moste froward of nature: and with what wonderfull wisdom and patience dyd he gouerne them by the space of .xl. yeres, beinge without any cities, towne, or any certain possessiō: who were better leders of armies than great Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, & Cesar, which were men al of great lerning: who better handled matters of waighty importace, than Octauian called Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Antoninus, Alexander, Senerus, & of late yeres Carolus Magnus, al emperours of Rome, and men very studious in all noble sciences? whan was there a better consul than Tully, or a better senator than Cato called Uticensis? And to retourne home to our owne countray, and wherof we our selves may be witnesses, howe moche hath it profited vnto this realme, that it nowe hath a kynge our souerayn lord kynge HENRY the yght exactly well lerned? Hath not he therby onely sifted out detestable heresies, late mingled amonge the coine of his faythfull subiectes, and caused moche of the chaffe to be thowen in the fyre? also hipocrisy and bayne superstition to be cleane banysed? wherof I doubt not, but that there shalbe or it be longe, a moze ample remembrance, to his most noble and immortal renome? This well considered, let men ceasse their sayde foolish opinion, and holde them content with their owne ignorance, and for my part, say what they list, I wil during my life, be in this wise occupied, in bestowing my talent, beinge satisfied with the contentynge of suche

b men

men as ye be, adourned with vertue, the most precious garment of very nobyltie.

But now to thintent that ye if ye list, may attayn inestimable profit by the reding of this litle warke, I do exhort you, that redyng it distinctly and studiously, first ye marke diligently, howe by the lasciuious and remisse education of Varius Helioabalus, he grewe to be a person most monstuous in liuinge, also howe not withstandinge, that he not onely suffered, but also prouoked the people to lyue in a moste beastly licence: yet horrible synne at the last became to all men fastiduous and lothsome. whetfoze they slewe in most miserable facion him that consumed infinite treasure in supportinge their lewdenes. Than shall ye note diligently, howe moche it profytted to Alexander, who nexte dydde succede hym, that he had so wise and vertuous a mother, and that he was brought vp among so wysc counsaillours. Also the maner of his meruailous proceedinges, in refozmyng a publike weale, left vnto hym corrupted so shamefully, wherein was moze difficulty, than to begynne it, where neuer was any. Marke also his moste noble qualites, and howe they were tempred. Moreover the forme of his speakinge, and howe as he grew in yeres, so waxed it moze mature and serpous, sometyme aboundaunt, otherwhyles shorte and compendious, as oportuntye serued. In his actes and decrees, what Justice and prudence were in them contayned, what seueritie he vsed, sparinge neither hym selfe, nor his frendes or mynisters. Finally, all his lyfe is a wonderfull myrrour, if it be truly radde and iustely considered, whiche if ye do often loke on, ye maye thereby attyre your selfe in
suche

suche faction, as men shall therfore haue you in more
fauour and honour, than if ye hadde on you as
riche a garmente as the greatte Turke
hathe any. Onely for my good
wyl in translatynge it for
you, I desyre your
gentyll report
and assyl-
tence
ageynst them, whiche do hate all
thynges, whiche please
not their fan-
tasies.





OF VVHAT LYNAGE

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THE EMPEROVR ALEXANDER

was, and the signes berokenynge
his Emppye. Capt. 1.



VRELIVS ALEXAN=

der sommetyme Emperour of Rome,
was bozne in the royaume of Siria,
in the Cytie of Arcene, whose father
had to name Varius, whiche was ly-
neally descended from the noble hous
of Metellus the Romayne, called Metellus the ver-
tuouse. Albeit some wyters suppose, that Seuerus,
before he was emperour, was amorous of a woman
in Siria, and by the arte of Astronomie fyndynge in
her natiuitie, that she shuld be an emperours mother,
he toke her to wyfe, and had issue by her, Varius the
father of Alexander: but fynally the progeny of this
Emperour is very vncertayn: wherfoze in myne opi-
nion his lyfe and actes be the moze to be honozed and
meruayled at, consyderynge that beinge come of soo
vncertayne a lynage, and bozne so ferre from the citie
of Rome, and in so barbarous a countrey, he could so
well gouerne the empire of Rome, whiche before his
tyme was with pryde and other detestable vyces ex-
tremely corrupted.

¶ The mother of Alexander was called Hammea,
a woman of notable wysedome, as it shall hereafter
appere by the byngynge vp of her sonne, and preser-
uynge of hym as well from the vyces, wherunto he
was not onely prouoked, but also wel nygh constray-
ned, by that moste beastely emperour Varius Helio-
gaba=

gabalus, his cousyn getmayne and predeceffour, not withstanding there was in that noble woman Hammea, a great spyce of auarpyce in gatherynge and keepynge of treasure, whiche fynally was the only cause of the death bothe of her and her sonne. The sayde Hammea was doughter of a woman called Mesa, which was bozne in Phentcia, in a towne called Enefa, and was syfter of Julia, wife of the emperour Seuerus. This Mesa lyuing, Seuerus and Bassianus his sonne, was continually abydynge in the courtes of those emperours: and after the deceasse of Bassianus, she was commanded by Macrinus than emperour, to departe to her countrey, albeit the emperour graunted that she shulde take with her suche trefure, as she had gathered, which was abundant. She had also two doughters, the one called Semiamira, the other Hammea. Semiamira had a sonne named Bassianus, which was of excellent beaultie. And bicause he was prelate in the temple of the sunne, whome the Phenices do calle Heliogabalus, he was semblablye called by that name, haupng added thereto the name of Varius, whiche is in englishe diuers, forasmoeche as some men suppose, that he was conceyued of the sede of dyuers men, his mother Semiamira beyng incontinent, and as it were comune to many men, durynge the tyme that she abode in the emperours court with her mother. Not withstanding her sonne Heliogabalus, by the crafty means of his grandame Mesa, was declared to be the sonne of the emperour Bassianus, and by the fauour of the men of warre of the Romayns, who than murmured and had in hatredte the pryde and crueltie of Macrinus (who was emperour

four after Bassianus) and his sonne Diadumenus, the sayde Marius Heliogabalus was aduanced vnto the empire, who with voluptuous and monstrous lpyng, in such wise corrupted the citie of Rome, that therein vnneth remainyd any steppe of vertue or honestye.

CContrarywse the other daughter of Mæsa called Mamea, of whom I intende now to write, induced rather by nature and reason, than by the example of her viciouse mother, so nourished and trayned her sayd sonne Alexander in vertue & lernyng, that partly by her education, but moche moze by his owne inclination naturall, he became one of the most perfecte princis that euer gouerned.

The education of Alexander, and howe he prospered in vertue and doctryne. Capit. ii.



TOVCHYNGE THE EDVCATION in chyldehode of Alexander, his noble mother Mamea failed not to prouide with all diligence and circumspection, that hir son mought be nourished in vertue, and amonge honest company, and that fro the tyme that he issued out of his infancie, he were continually instructed in all maner of doctrine, both ciuile and marciall: so that afterwarde he of his owne courage neuer suffred any daie to passe, without exercysyng himselfe eyther in letters, or in factis marciall. In the fyrste parte of his chyldehode he hadde instructours. Valerius Cordius, Titus Aeturius, and Aurelius Philippus: whiche afterwarde wrote his lyfe. Also in his countrey he was taught in greke by Acbo the
 & li gram=

grammatician, and the rhetorician Serapio, and Stilio the philosopher. At Rome he had teachers in the latine tongue, fyrste in grammer Scaurinus a famous master, in rhetorike he was instructed by Julius frontinus, Sebius Mactinus, & Julianus Grauianus. All be it he dyd not soo moche delyte in latine eloquence, as in the greke, ne dyd therein profyte soo moch: but he loued all men that were lerned, and feared them also, lest they shulde wyte of hym any thing sharpely, or to his rebuke.

¶ Moreover he sent often tymes for those excellent personages, communicatyng with theym thynges whiche were done as well priuily as also openly: wyllynge them, that all that they founde to be true, they shulde put it in wytyng: sufferyng also them to reprove hym whan they seemed conuenient. Often tymes he made verses in greke very pleasant, and was moch inclyned to musike. In the mathematical sciences, that is to say, Arithmetike, Geometry, and Astronomy, he was very well lerned. And therfore dyuerse tymes by his commandment, the professours of those sciences purposed openly questions. In diuination he was so excellent, that he therein surmounted the diuynours of Gascoyne, Spayne, and Hungry. He painted also excellently. Also he dyd synge very pleasantly, but neuer in the presence of any other, but onely of his seruantes and pages of his priuy chaumber. He wrote the lyues of good princes in verses eloquently, and sange them vnto the harpe and organes, ryghte sweetely, but that dyd he onely for recreatyng his spirites, whan they were troubled with vehement study: as it often tymes hapned by incomparable labour and
boute

bout the great assayes of the weale publyke. He was of visage fayre, and well proportioned in body: large and goodly of personage, and therewith was stronge and durable to susteyne peynes, as he that knewe his owne strength, and in the preseruyng therof was not founde negligent. Therto he was amiable, and towarde euery man gentyl, and easy to be spoken vnto. Also there was in hym so moche humanitie and beneuolence, that he wolde often tymes vylite not onelye the beste and the seconde of his frendes and seruantes beinge sicke, but also them that were inferiours and of base haupour, despying them to tell to him freely what they thought of hym, whom he wolde attentively here. And whan he had herde them thoroughly, than as the thyng, which was spoken of, did require, he wold diligently amende and correcte it. And whan his mother wolde saye often tymes to hym, Sir ye be to familiar and easye, and therfore ye shall cause the imperiall astate to be the lasse sette by, he answered thus, But yet shall it be moze sure, and contynue the longer. This was his disposition, procedyng as wel of the perfection of his moste gentylle nature, as of the education of his good and circumspect mother.

¶ Nowe wil I procede to write of his excellent wisdom and vertue, experienced in his authoritie imperiall, wherein was declared the moste perfect forme of gouernance that euer was practised by any pryncce (as I suppose) whiche shall appere the moze manifestly, yf fyrst I treat somewhat of the moste miserable astate of the weale publyke, and as it semed incorrigible, at the tyme that he receyued the gouernance thereof, he than beinge but of the age of .xvi. yeres, whiche

being considered and kepte in remembrance, this history shall be to the readers therof (excepte I be deceived) bothe pleasant and meruaylous, and no lasse profitable to gouernours that do preferre their publyke weale befoze wilful appetite and particular pleasures.

Of the monstrous tyrping of the emperor Marius Heliogabalus, wherby the cytie of Rome was corrupted. Ca.iii.

Tyrannye
& auarice.



MACRINVS the emperor for his auarice and tyrannye beinge abandoned (or rather betrayed) of his owne people, and slaine with his sonne Diadumenus, who in beaultie and goodly stature excelled all men of, his tyme, Marius Heliogabalus, of whom I late spake, was aduanced vnto the empire, by the hole consent of the Senate and people of Rome, who gaue hasty credence to all reportes that were made to the honour and praise of their newe princis. (Such is the appetites of men, which be moued anon with credulitie: for suche thynges as they desyre, they coueyte to here of, and do delite in new tydings, though it be falsely reported.) But Heliogabalus as soone as he was come vnto Rome, out of the countrey of Siria, he immediately declared his beastely nature, by insuynge vices mosse abhomyable, and aduancynge the fauourers and haunters of the same vices, and inforcynge with all his study and puissance, to exterminate out of the citie of Rome all vertue and honestie, from whens a lyttell befoze, all the world receyued doctrine and example of honour, concernynge as well vertuous maners, as marciall prowesse.

As for lechery this Heliogabalus was so insatiable,

able, that not onely he exercysed that byre openly, in common baynes and boydell houses, with sundry women of diuerse degrees and countreys: but also he ordeyned a senate of common harlattes, amonge whom were dyuerse noble matrones and damisels of Rome, theyr husbandes or parentes not beinge so hardye to let or rebuke them, vnto whom often tymes, after he and his ribauldes had saciate with them theyr lecherous appetites, he made a solemne contriō or proposition, callinge them his companions, and exhortynge them to set al theyr study and wytte to induce al other women vnto the fourme of theyr luyngge: declaring expressely, that he aboue all other thynges moste desired, that all men and womenne of the citie of Rome shuld be semblably disposed as he was. I holde it not conuenient to be wyrtten in any bulgare tunge, howe he transformed and abused his proper kynde, in such wyse, as I suppose the mooste vicious man nowe luyngge wolde be ashamed, not onely to beholde it, but also to here it, and that dyd he not onely secretely or in his house, but also openly, all men that wolde, beholding and lookinge on hym. I omitte the residue, which in myne oppynion oughte neuer to haue ben wyrtten for abomination therof, moche more neuer to haue ben of any man known.

He also promoted to the greatest dignities of the publyke weale, common bawdes, notable ribauldes, solicitours and furtherers of dishonest appetites, often tymes cokes and deuilsars of lecherous confectiōs and sawces: Semblably by such persons he sold dignities, auctorities and offices in the publyke weale. He also elceted into the Senate, and to the roumes of
great

great capitaynes, dukes, and gouernoures of countreys moſte byle perſonages, not hauynge regard to any age, gentylneſſe of bloud, meryte, poſſeſſions or ſubſtaunce. He had of his priue counſayle in all his actes, two Carters, the one named Protogenes, and the other Cordius. His glotonye was almoſte equall vnto his lecherie: in ſo moch as he therin vanquiſhed Vitellius, of whom it is wrytten, that at one ſupper he was ſerued with ſeuē thouſande fyſhes, and fyue thouſande foules. Heliogabalus whan he ſoiourned nygh to the ſee, he wold neuer be ſeruid with ſea fiſhe: but beinge in places far diſtante from the ſea, he cauſed all his houſhold to be ſerued with mooste delycate ſea fyſhe. It abhorreth me to expreſſe his beaſtely lyeuynge, but to the intent that the excellent vertues of his moſte noble ſucceſſour ſhal be moie apparant and commendable (lyke as al thyng that is vile or courſe, doth ſet foꝛ the moie pleaſantly that thyng which is precious and fyne) it is requiſite that I deſcribe this monſter in ſome parte as he was. All be it I doo not tell euery thyng that I haue redde of hym, as well foꝛ that it ſhall be to good men odious to here, as alſo it mought happen to incend the wanton and lewde courages of ſome readers, inclined to ſemblable qualites, whiche (god knoweth) is moche contrary vnto my purpoſe.

But to retourne to this monſtrous Emperour, whiche conſumed dayes and nyghtes in lecherie and glotonie, hauynge ſome daye all his company ſerued with the byaynes of Oſtriches, and a ſtraunge foule called Phenicopteri: an other daye with the tungenes of Hopingayes, nightengales, and other ſweete ſyn-
gynge

gyng byrdes, oftentimes with the myltes of most delicate fyles. I omitt other lyght fantasyes, where of I haue wrytten in my booke called the gouernour, where I treat of sobrietie. Finally it is remembred, that he was neuer two days togyther serued with one meate, nor ware thysle one garmente, nor companied thysle with one woman, excepte his wyfe. As often as he remoued in progresse, there folowed hym .vi. Cha riottes laded only with bandes, comon harlottes, and rybauldes. This companye had he in steede of counsaylours, and so delyted in this forme of luyng, that he sayd oftentimes, that if he had a sonne, he wolde ordeyne for hym maisters, that shulde compell hym to lyue in semblable facion. To these monstrous vices he added to crueltie, in puttyng to deathe dyuerse noble senatours. Also vsynge the counsaile of wyches and inchanters, he made his sacrifice with yong children: And violently rauyshynge from the noble men and women of Italy, their yonge infantes, he caused in his presence their bodies to be opened they luyng, and most cruelly serched in their tender bowelles for his moste damnable destiny. He had in speciall fauor one named Zoticus, who for familiarite vsed betwene them, was taken of all the chiefe officers for the emperours husbnde. This Zoticus vnder the colour of the sayd familiaritie, solde all the saynges and donynges of the emperour, intendyng to accumulate abundance of rychesse, by promysynge fayre to many men, but finally deceyuyng all men. for commynge out of the emperours priuy chamber, after that he had herd euery man speake, that supd vnto him, to som he wold say, thus sayd I to the emperour of you, vnto an other

Of you I herde the emperour saye thus to daye. To dyuers he wold say, Your matter oꝝ request shal come this to passe. As is the facion of suche maner of persons, whiche bringe from a base condicion admitted of pꝛincis into ouermuche familiaritie, they selle the fame and renome of their masters. Such as I haue reherfed were the counsaylours of Heliogabalus. foꝝ al wyse and vertuous men he deedly hated. wherfoꝝe he banished the noble man Sabinus, vnto whom Alpianus the great lawyer wꝛate his bookes. And semblably he put out of the citie the sayde Alpiā, onely bycause he was named a good manne, and caused Siluinus the noble oꝛatour, whom he had made maister to Alexander, to be put to deathe. And he oꝛdeyned a tumbler to be great maister of his housholde, a carter named Gordius he made capitayne of his garde. An other tumbler he made chiefe captayn of an army. The greatest rounes and affaires of the empyre, he commytted to mynstrels, players of enterludes and dysardes. To his bondmen and most vyle seruantes as they excelled in abhominacion, so pꝛeferred he them to the gouernance of realmes and pꝛouinces. Also of his rabell of brothelles, to some he gaue the rule and gouernance of the yowth of the citie: som he made rulers of the senate, to other he gaue pꝛeeminence and souerayntie ouer al them that were gentilmen, finally he intended to distroy all vertue, and to constrayne all men to lyue beaustely, as he dyd. And foꝝ that cause he cōmanded that the noble Alexander his aunes sonne shulde be slayne, either violently oꝝ by some poyson: foꝝasmuche as he perceyued hym to declyne from his appetite: but Alexander was alwaye pꝛeserued by the pꝛoui-

providence of god, who inclyned the minde of the senate & people to his preservatiō, for nothing availeth the malice of tyrantes agaynst innocentis & good mē, wher almyghty god wyl not haue thē to perishe. wherfore this monstrous emperour, desyring the destruction of Alexander, procured his owne deth, agreable with his abhominable lyving, for his owne seruantes and souldiours, whiche were prepared for the garde of his person, dreaddynge lest the people makynge insurrection, that they shuld be parteners of his mischeuous ende, being also tedious of his abominations, conspired to deliuer the common weale of hym. And sodaynly apprehended his adherentes and familiars, and with sundry tormentes dyd put them to deth. finally pursuyng Heliogabalus to a priue or draught, wherunto he fledde, there they slewe hym, and his mother Semiamira, and afterwarde his horrible carayn being drawen throughtout the cite with hookes, was of all the people despyled with ordure, and other matter foule and stynkyng, & at the last was brought with all kyndes of reproche, to the cōmon draughtes of the cite, wherinto they wolde haue throwen hym, but for as moch as the hole of the draught coulde not receyue hym, they tyed him to a stone of great weight, and threwe hym into the ryuer of Cyber, to the intent that he shulde neuer be buryed. This was the worthy and conuenient ende of this most beastly and vncleane monster, who with the emperors Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus, his predecessours, was a notable and commodius example to all princis succeedinge, to declare, that not withstandynge their maiestie and puissance, they for their vices abhominable,

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were fyrste hated, and afterwarde slayne, and dishonoured by their propre subiectes.

And in this hystorie it is to be specially noted, that not withstandynge that he not onely permytted, but also wylled his subiectes to lyue in a licence, and without correction, for synne, mozeouer bled toward them suche lyberalitie, that he fedde them with moste delicate and exquisite meates, gaue vnto theym money in habundance, and also to them, whiche dyned or supped with hym, he gaue all the vessel and plate, were it of golde or syluer, wherewith he was serued, and made many other distributions to the hole people wonderfull sumptuous: Yet the Romayns not withstanding abhorrynge in hym their owne propre vices, or rather beynge therewith faciate or tedious, they fynally slewe hym, as is befoze wrytten, after that he hadde reygned fyr yeres, & being than but in the .xxi. yere of his age.

C Howe Alexander was made emperoure, and of his wonderfull temperance in refusynge diuerse great honours. Cap. iiii.



IM M E D I A T E L Y after the death of Helioabalus the senate and people of Rome beynge surprised with incredible ioye, vfed all diligence and spede, that Aurelius Alexander, whom they had defended from death, mought forthwith as very emperour receyue all auctoritie and honour, that parteyned to the imperypall maiestie. Wherfoze they contended amonge them selues, whiche of them moughte applye to hym moste titles and names of dignitie. wherfoze he was the fyrste that receyued at one tyme all ornaментes and tokens of honour, ardynge therto the name of Cesar,

Cesar, which a few yeres before he had receyved, but moche rather his honeste lyfe and vertuous maners, wherby he obteyned suche fauour of all menne, that whan Helioabalus wold haue slayne hym, he could not byynge it to passe, the men of armes resisting, and the senate obstynately refusynge: but all those were but trifels in regarde that he approued him selfe worthy, whom the senate ought to saue harmelesse, whom the men of warre desyred to be in saufegarde, and generally by the sentence and opinion of all good men, was electe to be Emperour, beyng than but of the age of. xvi. yeres. Notwithstandinge he was than of suche a wonderfull sobernesse, that where the senate wolde haue gyuen to hym the surname of Antonine (which name for the incomparable vertues that were in Antoninus Pius, and Antoninus the philosopher late Emperours, was vsurped of other Emperours folowynge, for a principall title of honour) he humbly refused it: semblably dyd he the name of great Alexander, sayinge openly vnto the senate.

¶ I beseeche you honorable fathers, do not cal me vnto this necessitie, that I shuld be compelled to satisfy you in the merites of so hygh a name as Antonine is. For if ye seke for goodnesse in a pryncce, who was better or more vertuose than Antoninus Pius? If ye seke lernynge, who was more wyse or cunnynge than Marcus Antoninus? And who was more harmelesse than Nerus Antoninus? Noble fathers, these hyghe names of honour be bourdonous and to greuouse for my youthe to susteyne. For who wyll gladdely here a dumme man called Tully, an idiote Marro, a tyrant Metellus? And as touchynge the name of greate Alexander

lexander, it is moche moze incongruent, consydering that with better reason I moughte haue taken the name of Antonine, induced by colour either of affinitye, or els of equall asstate in the imperial maiestie. but the name of great Alexander, wherfoze shuld I haue it: what gret thinges haue I yet done to deserue that name, whiche Alexander the greke after great enterpyises, Pompei the Romayne after many triumphes, had gyuen vnto them: Cease therfoze honozable fathers, to conferre to me honours aboue my merytes. and sens ye wyll haue me called great, suffre me to be one of you, who in very dede be great in honour and persyte magnificence.

This moderate and sobye aunswere of so yonge a pryncce, inflamed immediately the hartes of the senate and people moche moze to honour hym, than if he had receyued those straunge names: and from that tyme he had the renoume of Constance and grauitie. Moze ouer for his great Austeritie agayne the presumption and lightnesse of his souldiours and seruauntes, he was named of them Seucrus, which betokeneth constante or sharpe in punishmente. whiche name in his tyme gat hym moche reuerence, and after ward great fame and renoume amonge his successours. fynally this mosse towardly pryncce with incredible ioye was triumphantly conuayed by all the Senate and people, to the imperial palatice: where beinge left, he prepared hym selfe to the refoimation of the hole empire, than beinge in ruine.

The

The example of vertue given by Alexander in the foume
of his scrupnge and darsy custome. Cap. X.



IMMEDIATELY after that Alexander
by the consent of the Senate and people,
was stablyshed in the imperial authoritie,
and for his excellent goodnesse was mooste
ardently beloued of the multitude, also
the remembraunce of Heliogabalus and his adheren-
tes for theyr detestable vices beinge euery where ha-
ted, and with detestation abhored: This noble yonge
emperour takynge than oportunitie to restore the pub-
lyke weale to her pristinate fourme, with the maiestie
imperiall, late violated, and well nyghe peryshed,
throughe the negligence of the sayde monster.

He by the counsaile of his wise and vertuouse mo-
ther Hammea, fyrste purged his owne palaice, ex-
cludynge out of his courte and all offices, dishoneste
and infamed personages: and by noo meanes wolde
suffer to be in his householdc any other, than by all
men shulde be thought necessary.

Moreouer he openly protested, makynge an othe,
that he wolde neuer haue a superfluouse numbze of
seruauntes, to the intent that he wolde not greue the
publyke weale with his prouysion, sayng, That em-
perour is a shewde pupyll, that fedeth with the bo-
welles of his commons, men whiche be not necessary,
nor yet profytable to the weale publyke.

Howe moche he hated unklennesse of lyuynge, he
well declared, whan he commaunded that no woman
infamed shuld salute or vylite his wife or his mother.
All his lyfe was a perfect Example of Temperance.
His

His aparaille was wonderful cleane, but not to sumptuous, and after some mennes opinion, moze meane than to his astate apperteyned. Semblable moderation the emperesse his wyfe obserued. Finally during his tyme he vled diligente correction of his owne maners: wherfoze all noble men assayed to folowe hym. And all honozable women ensued the emperesses example.

¶ Mozcouer this emperour was of suche an incomparable manuetude, that he commaunded, that noo man shuld wyte vnto hym in any other fourme, than shulde be wytten to a pryuate person, reseruyng the name of emperour. And also prohybited, that no man shulde call hym lord, but salute hym as one of the senators, and in this fourme, Be glad Alexander. And *Que Alex-
ander.* if a man hadde vled in gesture or speche any maner of flattery, he was eyther put backe, if the place so requyred, or els with a great laughter was mocked by them whiche were present.

¶ And for as moche as he wold not be saluted or visited but of theym whiche were honeste, and of good fame, he decreed, that noo man shulde enter into his palaice, but onely suche as knewe them selues vncorrupted with notable vices. And caused to be proclaymed, that noo personne, knowynge hym selfe to be a thefe or extortioner, shuld be so hardy to salute the emperour, upon payne of lesyng his lyfe. He hadde this sentence often tymes in his mouthe: Theues onelye complayne of pouertie, therby couetyng to hide their mischeuous luyng.

¶ Finally no daye passed, wherin he dydde not some thyng charitably, gentilly, or honozablye, but that thynges

thynges he dydde in suche wyse, as therin he neyther consumed ne wasted the common treasure.

The procured seldom any condemnatiōs, but those that were done he neuer pardoned. The tributes or fees fermes of cities, he often tymes gaue to the repairinge and buyldinge of the same cities. Howeuer to dyuers pooze men, of whose vertue or wysedome he hadde perfect knowlege, he lent of his Treasure to purchase landes, receyuyng agayne his owne money, onely of the rentes of the same landes, and lette the sayde personnes haue the possession and all other profyttes.

He wolde not suffer any of his courte to weare any garment myxte with golde, or other wyse precious or costely: nor he hym selfe delpted in ryche apparayle, saying, That gouernaunce was in vertue and not in beautie or costly apparayle.

At his table he vsed no gold but pure berill & chrystal, and other like matter to drynke in: he exceded not **CC**.li. waight of syluer vessell in all his householde.

Precious stones that were giuen to him, he caused to be solde, estemyng it to be a womanly appetite to haue suche iewelless, whiche he mought neyther giue to his souldiours, ne in haupng them fynde any profyte. Wherfore on a tyme whan an ambassadour had giuen to the emperesse two orient perles of wonderfull greatnesse, he commanded them to be solde. And whā no man coulde be founde that wolde giue as moche as the pryce was esteemed, lest any euell example shuld procede of the emperesse, if she shulde be seene to weare that thyng, whiche noo manne coulde bye, he caused theym to be hanged at the eares of the image of Venus:

C

nus:

nus : therby declarynge, that such thynges eyther for the inestimable pryce was meter for goddes than for men, or for the vnpropytable beaultie therof, serued onely for persons of wanton appetites, whereof Venus was goddesse and patronesse.

Cho lasse temperaunce bled he in meates and drynkes, neuer excedynge foure sundrye kyndes of flethe and sythe at one meale, and those with a great moderation and reason. He dranke wyne not skarsely, nor to moche, but competently.

In feastes or bankettyng he neuer wolde haue any wanton pastyme. His pleasure was to beholde birdes syghtyng together. And therfore he had in his garden, places, where byrdes of sundry kyndes were inclosed and kept, wherein he toke synguler pleasure. Notwithstandynge to the intent that he wolde in noo thing aggrieue the market in feding them with corn, he had seruauntes that prouyded for theym egges of wilde foule and culuers.

In honeste recreation he was meruaylouse merye and pleasaunt, amiable in communication, at the table so gentyll, that euery man mought demaunde of hym what he wolde. And to the intent that he wold be the moze circumspecte, he ordeyned the wyse man Alpiane, one of the greattest interpretours of the lawe ciuile, to be in the stede of his tutour, his mother repugnyng therat at the fyrste, but after she gaue him therfore greatte prayses. Whan he dynd or supped a bryde, he had euery with hym Alpiane or other wel lerned men, to the intent he wold than here histories conteynyng leynyng, wherwith he sayde that he was bothe recreate and also fedde. If he satte pryuyly, he
had

had a booke by hym and radde therin oftentimes, but that was in greke, for the more part. In open feastes he vsed the same simplicitie that he did in his palaice.

He so moche had flattery in hatred, that he wolde not here oratours or poetes speke any thyng to his prayse, callynge it folyshenesse: but he harde gladly orations, perswadyng to vertue, and also the actes of other good pryncis, as wel Romayns as Grekes, specially the prayse of Alexander the greate, whiche conqueryd the more parte of the world.

He went oftentimes openly to the common scholes to here rhetoriciens and poetes grekes and latynes. He harde also oratours recityng causes, whiche they had prosecuted eyther befoze hym, or befoze the great officers.

Fynally he so moch esteemed and fauoured learning that he ordeyned greatte salaryes to be gyuen to rhetoricians, teachers of grammar, phisitions, astronomers, geometricians, musiciens, deuisers of building and ingines. And prouided for theym places to reade in, and scholars also, gyuyng to poore and honeste mennes chyldren that hard them, theyr commons fre. With lyke charitic he reteined aduocates in poore mens causes. And suche lawyers as freely dyd helpe poore menne with theyr counsaile and labour, he rewarded them with coyne and wyne to maynteyne theyr household.

Archites
Ai.

He also perelye perused his lawes, and resourmed them accorдынge as occasion changed or hapned, and he hym selfe diligently and rigorously executed them in his owne personne and seruauntes. And therwith was of suche gentylnesse, that he wolde offer to gyue

C ii place

THE IMAGE OF

place to the ancient Senatours that came vnto him. And wolde suffer no man of honestie that prayed to speke with hym, to be repelled. He neuer dyd wronge to any person, semblably of wronges he was a vehemente and sharpe persecutour, sauinge, That in his owne wronge he was moche moze tractable than in a straungers. If he laye not with his wyfe, he was in the moornyng betyme in his priue closet, where were sette the ymage of Chyste, also the pictures of Abraham, Socrates, Apollonius, and other uncient and vertuouse men, where, by the space of halfe an houre, he remayned in prayers. And for this deuotion and maruaylouse example of lpyng, he was had of all men in wonderfull reuerence. All be it his temperate and sobye lpyng, beyng thought of some men not agreeable nor congruente to his maiestie, he was exhorted to aduaunce his astate, bothe in princely porte, and moze sumptuous maner of lpyng, leauinge his affabilitie and straye obseruation of his lawes, as it shall appere by letters folowynge, mutually wyttten betwene hym and his counsaylours.

The letter of Gordiane the senatour to the Emperour Alexander. Cap. xi.



HERE VVAS IN the citie of Rome an honorable Senatour named Gordiane, who hadde sometyme ben consul (whiche was the hyghest dignitie next to the emperour) and was the rychest man of all the citie, hauing the greatest possessions in the countreyes adioynynge, that any man had, the imperour onely except, and also was a man of excellent lerning and

and wysedome: wherfore durynge the lyfe of Helio-
gabalus, this Gordiane, hauing his monstrous life
in abhominacion, and perceyving the maicstie of the
empyre to decay by his negligent and dissolute liuing
and that there was no hope of remedy, obseruyng the
tyme, he by lyttell and lyttell withdrew hym into su-
che places, as he had of his owne, ferre from the citie,
saynyng hym selfe to be greued with suche dyscases
as dyd debilytate his wyttes, and therfore requyred
to be farre from resorte of company and moche noyse,
whiche beynge in the citie, he moughte not eschewe.
This excuse the emperour Heliogabalus herd glad-
lye, as he that feared and also hated the grauntie and
authoritie of Gordiane, and therfore lycenced hym to
departe and remayne in the countreye, as long as it
lyked hym, thynkynge by his absence to be moze at li-
bertie, and to lyue moze wantonly: So with the empe-
rours fauour or rather folly, Gordiane quietly and al-
so pleasantlye passed the tyme that Heliogabalus ly-
ued. And whan he herde of the deathe of that monster,
he wolde not retourne to the citie, but sent his consent
of election to the senate, after that he knewe that by
assent of the people, Alexander was named emperour.
And whan he was required of the senate to come per-
sonally, he aggrauated his impedymment, alledgyng
syckenesse, although in dede, neyther in body nor wyt
he was in any parte dyscased: but knowynge Alexan-
der to be very yonge, and also cousyn germayn to He-
liogabalus, he dyd in hym bothe the one & the other,
fearynge lest nature shulde preuaile again education,
whan he shoulde come to an absolute lybertie, and be
out of the state of all correccion. But soone after that

C.iii.

Alexan

Alexander was stablyshed in the empire, and that his vertues were commended and publyshed, Gordiane reioycynge therat, toke therof meruaylous comfozte. Albeit for his natue grauitie and stately courage, he lyked not the affabilitie and familiaritie that Alexander vsed, no we beinge the chiefe pynce and souerayn gouernour of all the woylde: wherfoze or he wolde make any accesse to his ptesence, he wolde proue his wysdome and vertue in admyttinge his counsayles, wherfoze he wyate in this wyse vnto hym.

NOBLE AND EXCELLENT pynce, the fame of your aduancement vnto the gouernaunce of the empire, was to me as it is vnto all the woylde, moste ioyfull tydynge, consydering the lamentable astate of our publyke weale, with the certayne hope that all men haue in you, beinge moued with your vertues incomparable, whiche dayly moze and moze ye do manifeste by your moste honorable example in lyuynge, declared to all that do beholde, not only your royal person, but also your seruantes and familiar companions. Among which vertues, your affabilitie and gentynes haue acqwyred no smal prayse amonge the people, as commonly they delyte in swete countenance, and myldenes of gouernours, wherein they truste to fynde moze lybertie. But most noble pynce, although for these qualities, ye deserue prayse and loue of your subiectes, yet in the imperiall maiesty requyrez to be a moze straunge countenance, and a seld and difficult accesse vnto your person, consydering that by the familiaritie of hym that is a mayster or gouernour, as well euyl men as good, do receyue boldnes to speke, and they whiche be euyl, do busily assaut hym, either
with

with flatterye, or with detractynge of other, wherby
 princis, although they be of good natures, and welle
 brought vp by their parentes, yet be they oftentymes
 transfoymed into monsters, that is to say, into beastly
 lyuers or rauenouse tyrantes. I ompt contempt, whi-
 che induced by familiaritie, byngethe the subiecte to
 disobedience. Let it not displease you, that I seme to
 haue in your hyghnesse any suspition. Verily as a mā
 that hath a faire and honest wife, wherby he is nicued
 to loue her entierly, wold not haue her gladly stand in
 the market place, and admytte without discrepance e-
 uery manne equally, and with lyke pleasaunt counte-
 nance, suffer euery man to speake to her what he lystē,
 although he knoweth her to be vertuous and constāt;
 as welle for as moche as the naturall shamefastnesse
 that ought to be in a woman, may not admytte suche
 open resoꝝt and cōmunication, as also the eares that
 be often assaulted, can not euer escape, but be they ne-
 uer so well foꝝtified with wysedome, at the laste lyke a
 castell wall, they beinge soꝝe shaken with many swete
 woꝝdes and long enteruien, they yeld at the last, y^e cu-
 stome expellynge shamefastnes, and fynally all wyse-
 dome being reiected, and nothyng set by. Semblably
 moꝝte excellent prince, your persone is to the senate as
 dere as the wyfe to her hus bande, and foꝝ your fayre
 vertues we of good reason ought to be so ialous ouer
 you, that wyllyngly we shoulde not beholde you falle
 into any custome, whiche mought allure you into any
 y^e disposition, remembryng the late calamitie that the
 cite and empire were brought vnto by your most mō
 struous p̄decessour Marius Hellogabalus. Wherfoꝝe
 lyke as now ye be to hym most contrarious in lyuing,
 so,

So we desyre to haue you resyst al occasiō, that mought
 gyue neuer so lytel a pathe for flatterers, detractours,
 and promoters of vice, to entre into your counsayle or
 fauour. Who can aduainte hym selfe to be well assu-
 red from this nette of hypocrisie, whych hath (as I
 mought say) sundry and dyuers meshes of flatteryn-
 ges, whiche vneth any man can escape that wyll tary
 vntyll the nette be cast ouer hym. The remedye than
 is eyther with maiestie to repell it, or to cut it asunder
 with sharp rebukes: and that in the presence of other:
 or so greuously to persecute alway those hypocrites,
 I do meane flatterers, with open punishment, that al
 mē may knowe & abhorre them. And that other therto
 by nature inclyned, may be cuer aferde of lyke experi-
 ment. But the fyrst way is most sure vndoutedly. For
 rebuke and punishment commeth after the daunger,
 but maiestie preccedeth, and therfore moze profytteth.
 For suche persones rebuked or punished, perchaunce
 excusynge them selfe that they do it by to ardent affe-
 ction and desyre to please, or by their youth and lacke
 of experiece, or recognysing their folly, and promysing
 amendment, may happen estsones to crepe into fauor
 and than they worke their nette soo fynely, that it can
 not so sone be perceyued, and pytcheth it moze couert-
 ly, applienge it aptly to their maisters conditions, soo
 that it shalbe almost impossible for hym to escape, but
 that in one meishie or other he shall be tangled. Con-
 trarywise by maiestie (that is to saye, statelpe counte-
 naunce and difficulte accesse) ioynded with wysedome,
 impresseth such reuerence, that men not only do feare
 to appoche vnto their soueraygne lord, oneles they
 be called, but also to speake any thyng, whereby they
 beinge

beinge discouered, shulde lose theire credence, hoppyng
 neuer againe to recouer it, consydering that by mai-
 estie and wisdom, the accesse to the prince is made im-
 penetrable, sens to them that neuer offended he is soo
 harde and diffuse to be spoken vnto. Thus to your
 maiestie haue I shewed myne opinion, wherfore yf by
 my counsaile ye do leaue your affabilitie, and familiac
 accesse, and imbrace grauitie and princelye astate, ye
 shall be saufe from the perylls that I haue remem-
 bzed, and haue equal honour with your pzedecessors,
 whiche wolde not be sene of the people but seldome,
 and oftentimes with a courtayne befoze theyr visage,
 syttinge in theyr place of astate, whiche they toke of
 the Persians. for thynges seldome secne be mooste e-
 stemed: and they that be frequent and often in eye, be
 lyttell regarded, whiche as ye increase in age, and ex-
 perience, ye shall find true, and to be wyptten of a faith-
 full counsaylour, that desyareth the increace of your
 vertue, with the publike weale of our most noble citie
 and empire.

The aunswere of Alexander to the letters of
 Gordiane. Capit. vii.



WHAN THE Emperour Alexander had
 receyued and radde the sayd letters of the
 Senatour Gordiane, he seemed to reioyce
 moze therat, than at all the honours and
 titles that were giuen him by the Senate
 and people, sayinge with a loude voyce: Yet there re-
 mayneth some hope in the publike weale, that it shall
 not bitterly perishe, sence we haue Gordiane the Se-
 natour left to assiste vs. And therwith he called for
 his

his tables, and immediately made to hym aunswere, as hereafter ensueth.

¶ GORDIANE honozable father, holwe moche better had the Senate and people of Rome prouyded for theyr publyke weale, if they had taken you to be theyr Emperour, hauyng regarde to your auncientie and excellent wysedome, where, in me they fynde nothynge but frayle yowthe, and lacke of experience, for onely detestation of the neglygence of my predecessour, with the desyre that I haue to increase vertue, hath sowed in me suche opinion amonge the Senate and people, that not remembryng you (perchaunce for lacke of your presence) they haue inhabilled me to this estate aboue my merites. Weryly no man douteth, but that ye being borne in the citie of a ryght auncient and noble house of the Romans, as of your fathers syde issuing from the honozable senatours called Gracchus, and by your mother descended from Traiane the emperour, mought with that grauitie and sternesse, whiche is in you, as it were by nature ingenerate, and amonge the people of Rome, aboue forty yere in the pryncipall dignities experienced, mooste honozablye haue incynteyned the imperial maiestie. Where I beinge borne a straunger, and my bloude (althoughe it proceded of the noble house of Metellus) beinge to the moze part of the senate and people vnknownen, am constrainned to auale that maiestie, that in you shulde be comendable, and in the stede of your grauitie and sadnesse, to vse towarde all men affabilitie and suche fourme of gentylnesse, whiche ye seme in me rather to prohibite than to dispayse, lest that my noueltie shuld cease to be pleasante vnto the people, if by my Charp-
nesse

nesse of straunge countenance If shulde seeme to deceiue them in theyr opinion. Remembre you not, that the haulte countenance and the difficulte accesse, whiche was in Tarquine the laste kynge Romaines, acquired to him that odious surname to be called Tarquine the proude: and althoughe that he were bothe valyaunt in warres, and in garnyshynge the citie very industriouse, yet whanne occasion and oportunitie hapned of rebellion, the people beinge broughte into fury, declared than howe moche more they hated hym than they dyd feare hym, ne had hym for his noble actes in any estimation of reuerence. Moreover whan they hadde expelled hym out of the citie, to the intent they moughte haue more familiar accesse vnto theyr gouernours, and fynd in them more affabilitie, from thense forth vnto the tyme of Caius Cesar, they yere-ly elected newe gouernours, calling them Consules, as it were counsaillours: supposyng that in theyr time of auctozitie, the remembraunce that they shoulde be priuate personnes the nexte yere folowynge, shulde cause them to vse the people the more famyliarly and also gentylly. And whan those officers beinge of long tyme chosen of the nobilitie onely, became in proccesse of tyme haulte mynded and sterne towarde the communalitie, the people with long sedition compelled the Senate to ioyne at the last, with a noble man in that office one of theyr company.

C Julius Cesar with affabilitie, mercy, and gentylnesse became so puissaunt, that neyther the Senates auctozitie, nor the prowesse incomparable of the great Pompei, nor yet the inexpugnable armies prepared agaynste hym, had power to resiste hym. yet shortly

D.ii.

after

after that he had decreed, that no man shuld approche hym, and became in his countenaunce and wordes moze stately, he was slayne in the middell of the citie by fyfty Senatours onely.

The great Alexander beinge so familiar and gentyll amonge his people, that he dyd not onely vsyte homely theyr paulyons and halys, mynystryng to them al thyng that they lacked, but also suffred them to come to hym boldely, and often tymes to speake to hym rudely, he dyue them with hym into the furthest partes of the worlde, into moste barayne and dangerous countreyes: and by moste gentyll perswasions bainequished nature, whiche abhorred the tedious iournayes, the trauayles intollerable, the venomous stingings of serpentes, the hungre and thyrst that sundry tymes hapned, and other incommodyties and incredible labours, which mought not withdꝛawe them from folowynge theyr prynce, so moche his most amiable gentylnesse subdued theyr appetites. But after that he folowynge the kynges of Persia (whome ye seeme to prayse in your letters) vsed a moze pompeuse estate than he was accustomed, and neyther wolde beholde or speake to his people famlyarlye, nor suffer them to speake to hym freely, howe sone after, chaunged they than theyr coppe: and as his affabyltye decayed, and pryde increased, so theyr louynge affection towardc hym, in lyke wyse relented, whiche constrained hym to omytte part of his enterpryse, and retoꝛne vnto Babylon, where amonge his frendes at a banquet, he was destroyed with popson.

The incomparable humanitie and gentylnesse of noble Germanicus (who shulde haue succeeded Ciberius

rius in the empire, if the treason of Piso had not frustrated the trust of the people) caused his sonne Caius, beinge yet in his cradell to be so fauored throughout the army, that they haupnge hym with his mother Agrippina among them, toke no lasse care for hym, than yf he had ben propre sonne to eueryche of them, which loue in suche wyse remayned, that immediately nexte after Tyberius, they made him emperour, who in the begynnyng of his reigne, vsyng the humanitie of his noble father, gouerned the empire quietly, as he that was meruaylously beloued of the people. But whan to aduance his maiestie, he became straunge, counterfaytynge his visage in a glasse into a terrible grauitie, couetyng to seme fearefull vnto the people: and whan he was openly sene, which was but seldome, he sytting in apparell all of golde, laded with iewelless, compelled the senate and people to worshyp hym, as god, howe sone after was his statelynes tourned into mockery, and he beinge of all men abandoned, was lyke an horrible monstre slayne; and drawen throughe the cytie?

Consyder the affabilitie and gentylnesse of the noble Augustus, Titus the sonne of Vespasian, Nerua, Traiane, Antonine called Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, whom no man can derogate of any parte of honour and wysedome, and see where ye maye therewith compare any sturdye grauitie, or haulte and straunge countenaunce of any other emperour or prince. Certes Gordiane honourable father, he moche erreth (in myn opinon) that preferreth feare befoze loue, without the whiche (wytnesseth Socrates) nothyng either with god or with man maye dure or abyde. Feare de-

D.iii.

pendeth

Quē mes
tuunt ode
run t, &
quem odi
unt peris
se expe iūt
Ennius.

pendeth on loue, and withoute loue it is soone had in contempte. Suppose not ye, that he was a wyse man that sayde, Men whom they feare they hate, and whom they hate, they wolde were destroyed: wysedome causeth men to be honoured, lyberalitie to be meruayled at, but gentylnesse and affabilitie onely to be hartly loued. Grauitie procedeth of wysedome, and consisteth not in countenance, but is compacte of two vertues, Constance & Prudence. Wherfoze it can neuer be counterfayte, if the actes be well expended and tryed. For where it lacketh, the said two vertues, it is either nicenes and to be laughed at, or els pride outragious and to be abhoyred and hated. But affabilitie can neuer be vicious. for though it be in one that lacketh discretio, yet by lybertie of speche, whiche increaseth therby, he shalbe so oftentimes warned, that he shall defalcate that thyng that semeth superfluous. For the accesse of flatterers or detractours, to hym that mortally hateth them, can byynge any damage. For he is to moche a foole that wyll shew his brest naked vnto his enemy. And to hym that is surely armed, it is no perill though his enemy assault hym, ye perchance if his enemy find hym inuincible, he shall afterwarde be aferde to approche hym.

Thus haue ye father Gordiane, not onely myne opinion herein, but also my determinate sentence, not therby dyspraysnge your honourable grauitie, whiche for the causes that I haue reherced, is in your person right laudable, but in me, beinge not so well known in this citie amonge the Romains, which of their nature be free, and were neuer in seruitude, it semeth not to be so expedient. Albeit if I reigned in Persia,
where

where the people from the begynnyng haue ben best gouerned by tyranny, I wolde perchaunce oherwysse do, chaungyng assabilitie into strangenes and stately countenance, which impropzely (in myn opinyon) ye in your letters haue named Maiestie. Thus fare ye wel, and haste you to retorne vnto the senate, whiche with me despyeth the pzesence of your excellent wysedome. **S**oone after the emperour Alexander, beinge elected consul, he solicyted the senate and people to electe also Gordiane into that offyce, affyrmyng that his pouthe required for the vtilitie of the publyke weale to be ioyned with suche a companyon as Gordiane was, whose wysedome, experience, and grauitie, was of all men sufficiently knowen.

The spzt pzeclpse of Alexander in reducyng of the empire into his pzyffinate honour. Cap. viii.



THE NOBLE AND prudence ladye Hammea, mother of the emperour Alexander, consyderynge her sonne to be nowe entred into the moste dangerous passage of youth, being but. xvi. yeres olde, feared lest the excellency of his astate (as it oftentimes hapned to other) shulde incite hym to assay thynges, whycher frayle nature thynketh delectable, and tastynge ones of them, his tender youth mought not withstande the assautes of pleasaunt affections, wherby he mought ctesones byrnye the empyre into ruine and infamy, and hym selfe and all his bloud to bitter destruction. Therfoze she percepyng hym to be obedient to her exhortations, (in dede she was a woman of moche wysedome and holynes, but that she was

was somewhat noted of couetyse) she with good reason perswaded to hym, that he coulde neuer wel stablyshe his estate Emperoryall, but onely by reducyng of the senate and people into their ppytimate order, whych he coulde neuer be brought to passe, except that fyrste his owne palaice were cleane purged of personages corrupted with vices, and into their places men of approved vertue and wysedom elected. And semblably that to the example of the emperours owne householde, the sondry dignities and offices in the weale publik were aptly distributed: considering that the princis palaice is lyke a common fountayne or spyng to his cite or countrey, wherby the people by the cleannes therof be longe preserved in honestie, or by the impurenes thereof, are with sundry byces corrupted. And vntyll the fountain be purged, there can neuer be any sure hope of remedy.

Wherfoze Alexander immediatly after that he had receiued of the senate and people the name of Augustus, wherunto was annexed the entier power and iurisdiction imperiall, wherby he mought commaunde or prohibite what he thought moste conuenient, fyrste he dyscharged all minysters, whiche the monstrous beaste Heliogabalus hadde vndyscretely promoted of most vile and dys honest personages, banyshyng also out of his palaice, al such as he mought by any meanes knowe, to be persones infamed. semblably flatterers, as well those, whiche therfoze were fauoured of his predecesour, as theym, whom he apprehended abusing hym with semblable falsehood. Accorpyng to that example he reformed the hole senate and iudges, and also all other dignities and offices in the publike weale.

weale. In lyke maner he pourged his garrisons and men of warre, and coꝛrected their lyberties and priuileges, gyuen vndiscretely to theym by other emperours, oꝛ by them misused.

¶ Moꝛcouer with all speede conuenient, by the aduise of Alpiane his tutour, Frontinus, and other the wiseste men of the Senate, he with all dilygence elected out of all partes of the empire, a conuenient and honorable company of wyse & honorable counsailours. This numbeꝛ were the moſte excellent lawyaꝛs, of whose sentences is made the texte of the lawe cyuile, gathered in the bookes named the Digestes. There was also Fabius Gabinus, surnamed Cato foꝛ his singular wysedome. Also Gordiane, of whom I late dyd wyte, a man of moche grauytie and noblenesse, whose sonne was afterwarde emperoure. Moꝛcouer there was Claudius Uenatus a noble and eloquent oratour, Also Catilius Senecus, kinseman to the emperour, moſte excellently lerned aboue all other, Serenianus a man of great perfectioꝛ and grauitie, And Catus Marcellus, who was of such vertue and goodnesse, that neuer histoꝛy remembꝛed a better. These good and honorable personages, with many other not of moche lasse estimation, at all tynes and places attended vpon that noble Emperour: of the whiche Alpiane was in maner his chauncellour oꝛ keper of the imperiall monumentes: And the Emperour had hym foꝛ his chiefe counsailour.

C

In

In what fourme the Emperour Alexander had his counsayle, whiche alwaie attended vpon his person. Cap. ix.

Bebius
Macrinus



THE fourme of Alexanders Counsayle, was as hereafter ensuith. Fyyste all matters & causes ciuile of great importance, he caused to be examined and brought in order by the great lawiars befoze rehersted of whom Alpiane was chiefe, and they made true re-
poyte therof vnto hym. Moreover he wolde neuer make decree or ordinaunce without. xx. lawiars substantially lerned, and fyfty other expert men and elo-
quente, and that was done after this maner. Euery mans opinion and sentence was thzoughely and qui-
etly herde, without interruption or alteration. Ther-
to were assigned. viii. secretaries or clerkes, men of quicke and substanciall memozy, who in bryefe notes or siphers made for that purpose, wrote euery worde that by those counsaylours was spoken. Moreover a competent tyme was gyuen to euery counsaylour to studye, and seeke for suche reason as he wolde pour-
pose, to the intent they shulde not speake vnadvisedly in thynges of importance.

It was also this Emperours custome, that whan he treated of lawes and matters polytike, he called therto lerned men, and suche as were eloquente and well reasoned. If he communed of matters touchyng warre and hostilitie, he called to hym olde and expert capitaynes, whiche hadde valyantly acquitted them selues in sundry battayles. Also theym that were ex-
pette in the situation of places, pitchynge of fieldes, and preparation of camps. He wolde also here dy-
uerse,

uerse, whiche were perfectly and rypely instructed in histories, inserchyng by them what the Emperours and princis as wel Romainys as of other nations befoze that tyme, had done in semblable causes, as were at that tyme in reasonyng. And after that all theyr opinions and sentences were wyrtten, by the secretaries (as is befoze mencioned) and that they cōferring to gether, had made therof one perfecte minute of euery mannes sayyng, and deliuered it to the Emperour with as moche haste as was possyble: Than he in a place secrete perbysynge the mynute, and assemblinge and ponderynge the sentences throughe, after a competent tyme therein bestowed, cyther gatheringe of them one perfecte conclausion, or elles addyng to some thyng of his inuentiō, he fynally opened his conceipt amonge all his counsaylours, whom he had befoze harde, not withstandyng he gaue to them liberty, cyther to allowe his sentence, or if any man had any thyng newly deuised, estsones to declare it. And that sentence, whiche was of moste wyse men appoyued, that alwaye p̄cuayled, and he therto consented, and caused it with al diligēce to be put in experyence. For he was of suche moderation of mynde, that nothyng more pleased him, than to here any man with a substanciall and trewe rapson to confute his oppynion: whiche caused hym to byp̄ng to passe thynges to be meruayled at. But nowe wyll I declare the oration that he made in the Senate, after that he had sette in good order his owne propre housholde.

C.ii.

The

¶ The oration of Alexander to the Senate, Ca.x.



HE INESTIMABLE maiesty of this empire (as ye well knowe honozable fathers) lyke as it toke begynnynge and increase of prowesse and politike wisdom, soo by the same and lyke meanes it muste be conserued. Our most noble progenitour and founder of this empire, the valiant Romulus being in his tender infancy caste out of the palaice, and nourished amonge the pooze herdmen, with sustaynyng moche hunger, cold, & continual trauaile, achieved this lytel portion of ground, wherin nowe standeth the principall ruler & mastresse of all the worlde. To the ayde of his prowesse he added to, the quiet and vigilant studye of rude shepardes olde and decrepyte, whose bodies beinge macerate with labours, and made feble with age, although they mought nothyng profite in battaile, yet they wyttes beinge confirmed by longe experience, and free from the vexation of wanton affections, they no lasse aduaunced and set forth the enterpryse of the couragious Romulus, than dyd the diligence and prowesse of his lusty souldiours. Neither his strength or courage, ne the wyttes of his rude senators became so excellent, as it seemed at that tyme to be, by feedynge superfluously, by beastely idelnes, or wanton pastymes, but onely by temperaunce in luyng, vigilant prouidence, and contynuall exercyse: wherby strength is nourished, and wyttes be increased: Like as by the other the strength of body is resolved, and the wyttes be consumed or vnprofytably dispersed. And certes lyke as the fyre is proued to be true

true by the example befoze declared, and many other
 succeeding that tyme: so the last is semblably verified
 by late experience, and whereof the steppes yet do re-
 mayne to our no lyttell grieve and displeasure: consi-
 dering that therby this noble empire is lyke to falle
 into extreme ruine, and perpetuall infamye, onelesse
 your moste excellent wysedomes wyll dilygently and
 constantly prepare your selves to the certayne remedy
 agaynst this peryll intollerable, whiche remedy onely
 shall be the purging and reformation as wel of this
 moste honourable company of senatours, as of all o-
 ther dignities and estates in the weale publyke. In
 the whiche inquisition we desyre none other preroga-
 tive, but that it may take his fyrste begynnynge at our
 proper palatice and householde, and in our owne per-
 sone to be fyrst executed, to thintent that the pyncipal
 fountayne, beinge founde cleane, the remnant of our
 subiectes, whose order of lyving procedeth of our ex-
 ample as ryuers and sundry lakes from a hed spring
 whiche is set on a mountayne, maye with lyttell diffi-
 cultie be more easily purged. For other astate or pre-
 eminence wyll I require, but where yowth refuseth in
 me the most reuerende name of father of the countrey,
 whiche ye offered vnto me, yet condescendynge to parte
 of your gentyll requestes, I wyll gladly receyue the
 names and titles of protectour of the senate and tri-
 bune, or els if better do lyke you, defender of the Ro-
 man people. And on that behalfe, I require you, for
 the approbation of my sincere loue to the publyke
 weale, that accordynge to the auncient and laudable
 custome of this noble citie, ye wyll cause to be chosen
 Censores or correctours of maners, such personages

C.iii. as

as neuer were infamed with any byce notable, and whose lyues be inculpable, and therewith be sufficiently furnyshed with wysedom and grautie, voyde also of all priuate affection, feare, auarpyce, and flatterye, who lyke good surgeons, shal not forbear with corrosyue and sharpe medicines, to drawe out the festred and synkyngge coxes of olde marimolles and inueterate soozes of the weale publyke, ingendryed by the longe custome in vice. To the which remedy, as a necessary minister, I shall put to my propre handes and assistance vnto the dethe. Leauynge remembrance after me, that in makynge me your emperour, ye nothing haue appaired of the imperyal maicstie, but haue aduaunced it with the publyke weale of your citie. To the ratification of the whiche iudgement of you noble fathers, I shall apply holly my study, trauayle, and diligence, callyng god to wytnesse, that the senate and people of Rome, shall sooner fayle the publyke weale, than I shall leaue any part of my duetie.

¶ Howe the correctours of maners, called Censors, were respected, and with what rygour they executed their offyce by the commandement of Alexander. Cap. xi.



HE SAYDE oration of the emperour Alexander beinge synysshed, a wonderfull reioysing entred into the hartes of the senatours, whych were vertuouse & honorable, and being replenished with ioye, they all spake on hygh with one voyce, sayng, ¶ Emperour Alexander, god euer preferue the. God sent the vnto vs. God euer defende the. God hath deliuered the frome the vncleane Helioabalus. God kepe

Lampri-
dius.

kepe the perpetuallie. Thou dyddest longe tollerate that myscheuous tyzant, thou doest lament his abhominable liuing, and at the last god hath delyuered the and vs also of hym, and to this hath brought the.

¶ After these and many mo. congratulations made to the emperour, he gyuyng to the senate condigne thankes, departed to his palaice. And shortly after there were chosen by the comon consent of the senate & people, foure Censores, two to remayne in the citie, & other two for Italy, & the prouinces vnder the name of latines: from whens were electe for the moze part senatours, iudges, and other chiefe offycers, whiche had iurisdiction and authoritie to gyue any sentence. The Censores for the cite were Fabius Sabinus, and Catilius Seuerus, men of excellent wysedome and grautie. And for the prouynces were made Quintilius Marcellus, and Caius Manlius, men of auncient nobilitie and great seueritie.

Marius
Maximus

¶ The office of Censores was to note the maners of euery person, whiche was in any degree of honour, that is to say, aboue the astate of the common people, wherein was shewed suche rygour, that no man was spared, so that if a knyght, a iuge, or a senatour, had vsed any vnseemly thyng, appaynyng or staynyng the estimation of the degree, whych he represented, it was in the authoritie of the Censores to degrade hym or dyscharge hym of his office or dignitie.

Offyce of
Censores.

¶ Sone after the sayde election, they made Alexander consul: who with al diligence procured, that Aelius Gordianus, of whome I late spake, was made his companion in the Consulate, wherat some of the people grudged, fearynge lesse the sturdynesse and haulte

THE IMAGE OF

haulte courage of Gordiane, shulde chaunge the incomparable gentylnes of Alexander into crueltie and pyde: but it succeeded all other wise, for the wyse emperour, by the exquysite grautie of his companion, reformed so his nature, whiche was in wyse mennes opinion moze easly and simple than apperteyned to the imperiall estate, that by all mennes iudgement he became in moderation of vertues of all other incomparable.

The Censores immediately after that they were elected, vigilantly and sharply executed theyr offyces. For fyrste they discharged oute of the Senate all suche whyche by Heliogabalus, for theyr abhomynable lyuynge or flatterye, were thereto promoted. Semblably they purged the order of knyghtehode, disgradyng all knyghtes, whiche were shameles lechours, maynteyners of theues, or theyr theym selues robbers. In lyke wyse all those which of baudes, ruffyanes, carters, cookes, and other lyke reprocheable persons were by Heliogabalus put in authorite. The same industry they vsed in reformyng Judges, and other heed offycers, as well in the citie as about in the prouinces. Finally none astate or degree escaped their rebuke or correction. For the emperours palaice was exempt from their iurisdiction: In so moche as Aurelius Philippus, who was sometyme a bondeman, not withstandyng that he was manumysed, and had ben the emperours scholemaster, and after wrote his lyfe, forasmoche as he dyd ryde in a charpot, and wold be saluted as a senatour, the Censores caused hym to be ladde to pryson, and prohybted hym for comynge to the emperours palaice, but onely on foote, and his copped

copped cappe on his head, whiche fascion oncly was vsed of them that were infranchised. And althoughe for his good lernynge and honestie, some noble men aduised the emperour, that he shoulde require the Censozes, that they shoulde withdraue theyr rygour in correctynge Philippe, consyderynge that he had ben sometyne his scholemaster: He nothyng wolde doo, to let or restrayne the sharpe correction of the Censozes, but moch extollyng theyr constance, he answered: If the common weale maye haue euer suche officers, in shorte space there shall be founde in Rome mo men worthy to be Emperours, thanne I at my commynge founde good Senatours.

And immediately he ordeyned, that there shoulde neuer lybertine, that is to saye, any man of a bonde auncetur be of the Senate, sayinge: That the order of kynghthode was the place frome whense were fetched the plantes of the Senate, that is to saye: frome whense the Senatours were elected. Not with standynge he purchased a goodly mancion, with sufficient reuenues, not ferre from Rome, whiche he gaue to the sayde Philippe, sayinge to hym: Befoze I was Emperour, I disdeyned not to folowe thy doctryne: Nowe be thou as well contented, for the increas of myn honour & of the weale publike, to obey to myn ordynance. And although the maiestie of the Citie may not permytte the to be openly receyued in the numbze of our familiars, yet priuy resozte shall approue our fauour towarde the, not losse, but increased.

Of suche incruaylous seueritie was this Emperour, that noo kynde of affection or pryuate appetite mought reflecte hym from the sharpe execution of his
f
lawes

lawes oꝝ lawdable customes of the cittle, as moze yet
shall appere in the chapiter folowyng.

Of the great pꝛudence of Alexander vsed in the election of his
counsaillours and offycers. Capi. vii.



IT OFTEN tymes hapneth, that where
god dothe oꝛnate a pꝛynce with naturall
gyftes, and also great vnderstandyng and
sharpenesse of wytte, he foꝝ lacke of electi-
on (whiche is a greate parte of Pꝛudence)
hauninge about hym counsaillours, companions, and
officers vnnete oꝝ vnwoꝛthy, maketh the sayde oꝛna-
mentes vnꝛofitable, oꝝ ꝑraducenture incommodious
to the weale publyke, whercof, he hath gouernaunce,
wherby the renoume, whiche were condigne, and as it
were incident to rare and excellent qualities, is losse
and dyeth with the body, oꝛ els (whiche is moche warse)
is tourned to perpetuall reproche and dishonour: whi-
che the Emperour Alexander circumspectlye consyde-
derynge, he with an incomparable studye prepared
foꝝ him selfe certayne rules of election, as hereafter fo-
loweth.

Rules
wherby a
Pꝛynce
shulde es-
lect coun-
saillours.

Efyrste he determyned to loue all, that was vertue,
and to hate all, that was vyce, in what person so euer
the one oꝝ the other shulde happen.

Also what so euer pleasure oꝝ commoditte mought
come to hym by embꝛacyng oꝝ tolleratyng of any no-
table vyce, he wolde rather lacke it, though it were
to his detryment, than to be seene to chaunge his opi-
nion, lest any man shuld therby take occasyon to com-
mende vyce.

And for as moche as vnder his Empire were dyuerse and sundry nations, whercof also the people by naturall disposition be dyuersely inclyned to vertue or vice, he therfore applyed him selfe to knowe the sundry wyttes, maners, affectes, and studyes of men, bothe in euery region countrey and notable cite, throughout the worlde: whiche knowlege he apprehended soo exquisitely, as wel by studious readinge of many histories and other notable markes of mozaill philosophye, as by dilygent examyninge of capytaynes, and merchants, whiche had trauelyed and benne in sundry countreys: wherby he was wonderfully holpen in his elections and iugementes, as it shal hereafter appere.

He wolde neuer accepte commendation of any personne, befoze that he hym selfe had spoken with hym, and that by secreete scrutiny he had ben truely insoutmed of hym. And yet the commendation that he wolde afterwarde here, shulde be a parte, none other manne herebynge, but hym selfe, lest if manye were presente, and he that commended were in auctoꝛytie, other herars althoughe they knewe the contrary, shuld cyther asseyne a false commendation, or elles feare to saye truthe, if they shulde be therof demaunded.

In them that were counsaylours, he vtterly abhorred ambition and flattery. In iudges, he hated with extreme detestation couetyse and wyathe. In bothe the one and the other he loued Sinceritye, bulgarly cal- *Sinceritie.*
led vprightnesse.

The perfecte knowledge of mennes conditions, he had not by the repoꝛte of theyꝛ superiours or equalles, ne by them whiche dwelled farre from the habytation of those whom they praysed, but by the examynation

of theyr nyghest neybour, being men of honesty, and not theyr ennemyes. And that was practised by suche of his owne yemen as were moſte auncient and ſage: whiche fyndynge occaſion to ryde throughe the countreys, where they were neyther bozne nor had poſſeſſions, ſhulde make this dyligente ſcrutiny or ſerche. And to ſuche maner of perſonnes the common people wold moze familiarly and playnely declare theyr opinions than to gentylmen or men in auctozitie. But if the Emperour perceyued afterwarde, that he had bene vntuely inſozmed by any of his ſayd eſpialles (whiche ſometymes he dyd by further expercience, as being in his progreſſe, or hym ſelfe hearyng and diſcuſſynge complayntes of the common people openly and with a great delyberation and grauitie) he than extremely and without hope of remiſſion, punyſhed the falſe reporters, were it in prayſe or detraction: cauſynge their tungen to be perced throughe with a hotte byrennyng iron, and to be banyſhed his courte and preſence for euer. Whiche puniſhement, althoughe it wyl ſeeme to ſome men ſore and cruel, yet conſyderynge, that vſing this meane, he was neuer deceyued by counſaylours, and alſo that Juſtice was dewely executed by theym that were in auctozitie, that maner of rigour maye be thoughte neceſſary and very expediente. Alſo the punyſhemente beinge in a fewe executed at the begynnyng, the ſeueritie of the prynce became ſo terryble, that men ſo greuouſely feared hym, that neyther deſyre, rewarde, nor dreade of any other man coulde let the ſayde eſpialles to repoyte trewelye, accorдынge as they had founden by theyr diligent ſcrutiny.

¶ One meruaylous cawtell he vſed, that is to ſaye:
One

One man was not oftentimes in that truste of espy-
all. And those personages were chosen and appoy-
ned onely by hym selfe, without makynge any other
man priue, vntil he had dephehended them with some
maner of falshode.

¶ Finallye he was of suche a wonderfull discretion
and sobrenesse, that no repozte coulde byynge him out
of patience, oz into suspition, vntyll he had well try-
ed the repozte with some praty experyence, as it shall
be declared hereafter.

¶ And thus I make an ende of the fyrste parte of his
gouernaunce, whiche was in orderynge of his owne
person and courte: wherby principally he broughte
not onely the citie of Rome but also al the hole empire
(not withstandinge the beastely lycence brought in by
Heliogabalus) in as good estate as euer it was in the
tyme of any of his moste noble progenitours.

¶ Howe extremely Alexander hated extozcioners and byz-
bours, and howe moche he fauoured theym
that were veruouse. Cap. xiii.

THE EMPEROVR Alexander had suche
indignation towardeg theym that were ex-
tozcioners oz byzbours, that yf by chance he
espied any of them, he was therewith so gre-
ued, that he immediately wolde vomite bp colar, and
his face beinge as it were on a fyre, of a longe tyme
mought not speake one woide. On a tyme one Sep-
timius Arabinus, who in the tyme of Heliogabalus
was a famous byzbour, came in the company of Se-
natours, to salute the emperour Alexander, who be-
holdyng hym sayde with a lowde voyce: O lord god,
I. iii. beholde,

behold, Arabinus not only lyueth, but also pꝛesumeth to be in the senate. peraduenture he trusteth in me, iudgynge me to be an ignozant and folyſhe emperour. ¶ Howeouer he ordeined, that where there were founden any extorcioners, oꝛ byrbours, that they ſhuld be openly examined and iudged, and by the gouernours of countreyes ſente into exyle. Whan he was in his pꝛogreſſe, ſuche as were gouernours oꝛ Juſtyces in pꝛouynces, whom he herde worthily comended without ſyniſter affection, he wolde in his iourneye take them into his hoſelygher, comynge with theym of the ſtate of their countrey, and honouryng them with rewardes, ſaying, That lyke as extorcioners and byrbours are to be impouerlyſhed, ſo good men and iuſte are to be entyched.

¶ In heryng the complayntes of his ſouldyours agaynſt their capitaynes, if he founde any capytayne faulty in that thing, wherof he was accused, forthwith he cauſed hym to be punyſhed after the qualitie of his offence, without any hope of remyſſion. Semblablye dyd he to his ſouldiours and ſeruauntes. For where they iniuſtely greued any perſone, he corrected theym ſharply, and with a meruaylous auſteritie.

¶ To one of his ſecretaries, which forged an vntrue byll in his counſayle, he comanded the ſynewes of his fyngers, wherewith he dyd wyte, to be cutte, and ſo to be vtterly banyſhed. Wherfoze he was called Seuerus, whiche is as moche to ſay as ſharpe oꝛ rigorous: for ſeueritie is rygour in punyſhement, accor dyng to the qualitie of the offence, haupng reſpecte to a good purpoſe, without any deſyre of vengeance. And it is that parte of Juſtyce, that conſiſteth in execution: the

the commendation whereof shall appere in the nexte chapyter.

A notable example gyven by Alexander in repreeunge an ambitious and vayne glorious counsayle, Cap. xiiii.



SUPPOSE IT shall not be tedious to good men to here one incomparable example of the seueritie of this meruaylous emperour, whiche although it shall seeme to many that shall here it, to be ouer vehemēt and greivous, yet in readyng the chapter nexte followinge, it shalbe sufficiently declared by the wordes of the same emperour, that his sayd rygour in iugement was necessarylye vsed, and with equalytie in iustyce, deservynge in no parte to be reprieved, but nowe wyll I reherce the sayde story.

There was aboute the sayde Emperour a man of great honour called Metronius Turinus, whome for his great wytte and sagenes in apparance, the emperour had in syngular fauour, in so moche as he called hym to his priuie counsaile, and vsed to be with hym more famylyar than he was comonly with any other, whiche so moche blynded the inward eye of Turinus, that he coulde not se in hym selfe, whych he not longe befoze had condemned in other. suche incomparable sweteness is founde in the familiar cōpany of princis. wherfoze lyke as whan the companions and seruantes of Ulysses had eaten abundantly of the herbe called Lotos, the taste therof was so pleasant and meruaylous, that all that ate therof, forgettyng their owne propre countrey, colleted to remayne styl in that region, where that herbe grew, and but only by violence

lence they coulde not be broughte to their shyppes, to retourne to their propre houses: semblably Turinus after that he had ben with the emperour in an inward and secrete familiaritie, he founde it so pleasant, that forgettyng from whence he was callyd, and takynge lyttell hede of any other parte of his offyce, he put his hole study and delectation to augment the opynion of men, that thought that the emperour wolde nothyng do, without his aduise, wherby he shulde be magnifyed and honoured aboue all other of the emperours counsaylours. And therfore he had contynuall suite made vnto hym, as well by them that had suites to the Emperour in their particular causes, as others that looked for offyces or great promotions. To euery man a parte he wolde promyse his fauour, and therfore receyued great rewardes & presentes. but fynally whom he knewe that the emperour had preferred in offyce, or anye thyng determined in his iuste cause. (for that moughte he knowe beinge with the Emperour so secrete, although the good emperour dydde nothing by his perswasion only, but by prudent aduise and good deliberation, as it shall hereafter appere) on hym wolde he becke, if he were in the chamber. And often tymes in a day he wolde come from the emperour into the chaumber of presence, or place, where suiters awaited, and of whom he had receyued money, to them wolde he say, that he had remembred them, and in their request or matter receiued good comfort, whan in dede he spake not theroof one worde. Fynally by the colour of this familiar and secrete recourse that he had to the emperour, he gathered moche treasure: but at the last dyuers, and in great numbꝛe, to whome he hadde promysed

promysed that thyng that they sued for, not withstanding they receiued nothing in conclusion but noddes with the heed, founde them selves deceyued, and they great sommes of money baynely employed, wherat they murmured and partly meued with dysdayn, partly with pouertie, they brast forth at the last into manifest grudgynge, whiche came to the emperours eare, by what meanes I knowe not, but suche abuses can not be longe hydde frome princis, that haue their eares perfozate (as is the proverbe.) Whych the emperour heyrng, he was meued with meruaylous displeasure, consyderynge that Turinus, whom he had in so great estimation, abusynge his persone, in faynyng hym to be his pupyll or seruant, had sold his determinations & sentences, wherby he had defamed his maiestie in that that Turinus had brought me in belefe, that the emperour dyd nothyng (but as it were) at his onely becke and comandement. Which opinion to redresse he vsed this polycie. He caused one to desyre a thyng of hym openly, and afterwarde to sue to Turinus priuily to helpe hym in his demand, and secretly to meue the emperour for hym, which beinge done, and that Turinus had promysed his good wyl to him that sued, and sone after sayng, that he had somewhat meued the emperour therein, where in dede he spake not therof any one worde, and that he abode an answer therof, wherupon he receiued of the sayd suter a great summe of money. whiche the emperour knowynge, he caused hym to calle esteemes on Turinus, but he as yf he hadde in hande other busynesse, onely beckened on hym without speakynge any thyng to hym. for in dede the Emperour hadde gyuen to an other that

G

thyng,

thyng, whiche this man sued for, whiche grudgynge therat, discouered openly what Turinus had of hym receyued: that knowynge the emperour, he caused Turinus immediately to be arrested, and openly in his presence to be accused, whiche was done by a greatte numbre, whom he had also deceyued, takynge of them great summes of money for offyces, and other thynges, whych they neuer obteyned. Wherfoze after that Turinus was condemned by sufficient and credyble wytnesse, in whose presence he had receyued this bybery, and in whose hearing he had effectually promised, he was iudged by the emperour, to be ladde into the open market place, where moste resozt was of the people, and there beynge bounden to a stake, with smoke made of grene styckes and wete stubbell, to be smouldred to deathe. and durynge the tyme of his execution, the emperour comaunded a bedell to crye, with fume shal he dy, that fumes hath sold. But to the intet that men shuld not think that for one offence the iugement was to cruel and rigorous, or euer Turinus was condemned to die, the emperour made diligent serche, & by euident pofes it was founden, that Turinus had often & in many causes, receyued money of both partes, promysynge to aduaunce theyr cause to the emperour. Moreouer to proue the seueritie of this emperors laudable, it shalbe declared in the chapter next folowing.

The consultation concernynge the punishment of Turinus, and the excellent reason of the emperour Alexander. Cap. xv.

IN THE MEANE tyme that Turinus was accused, and befoze his condemnation, the Emperour Alexander accorpyng to his customable vsage, gaue conueni-

conuenient tyme to his counsaylours to delibérate by them selues, or euer that they gaue any sentence, what punishment shulde be equall to the offence of Turinus, and necessary for an example to other, that they presumed not to do the semblable. After whan the counsaile was called, euerye man was commaunded to declare his opinion: Some raysoned, that the open rebuke with sufficient satisfaction vnto the patric, shulde be a conueniente punishment: Other ad- dyd to impryssonement for a certayne tyme: dyuerse wolde that he shuld be banished farre from the court: many affyrméd with vehement argumentes, that he deserued to be beheaded, consydering that in abusing the emperours maiestie, in sellynge greatte offyces to persons vnworthy, he had put the publyke weale in no lyttell hafarde. The emperour aduisedly herynge all theyr opinions, laste of all, as it was his maner, reasoned in this wyse, as hereafter foloweth.

My trustye and well beloued counsaylours, we haue hitherto attentlyfely herde and thoroughly consydered your wyse and honorable sentences, declared with free and vncorrupted myndes, althoughe by the diuersitie of your naturall inclynations, your sundry reasons seme to haue noo lyttell dyuersitie, as it hap- neth in al consultations, wherein diuerse men do shew theyr conceiptes freely without feare of blame, as I doubt not but ye do. Not withstanding for as moch as heryng all your opinions and reasons, I haue my wytte the better instructed to fynde oute and declare (except I be deceyued) what shulde be the moste expedient and necessary punishment of Turinus, for the offences whiche he hath commytted, wherein ought to be

Cont. be

be noo lasse feueritie (as I wyll ppeue with good reason) than if he had attempted to haue slayne me, or to byrenne this moste noble citie of Rome, the honozable mantion of goddes, & common refuge of al the world. Fyyst ye remembre, that ye chasc me to be your gouernour, not onely for the nobilitie of my progenitours, ne for theyr images or monumentes of thankfull remembraunce, ye, rather for the beastely and most abominable lyfe of Helyogabalus, my cousin getmayn, ye had moze cause to refuse me: neyther ye made me your Emperour and prince for the goodlynesse of my person, or prowesse shewed by me in your warres: I beinge yet for tender nesse of age vnyth able to do feats of armes, moche lasse to leade an army, speciall ye such one as pertyneth to this noble empire. But true lyt it was for the good estimation & hope that ye had in the towarden esse of myne education and nature, thynkynge it to be aptely disposed to vertue, wherin beinge broughte vp in chylhode, I oughte to haue alway about me, suche as be of lyke disposition, and by theyr assis tence and counsaile, to moderate and rule the publyke weale of this citie. It oughte therfoze to be kepte in remembraunce, that as I haue sayde, by the good opinion and hope that all men haue conceyued of me, this publyke weale, whiche beinge subuerted, I founde as none, I haue reedified (and be it spoken without bolste) almoste made newe from the foundation. Than if he that inforseth hym selfe to byrenne the houses, or to beate downe the walles of the Citie, by good iustyce and reason shuld suffer deathe: by a moche greater reason ought Turinus to dye, that hath indenuoured hym selfe to subuer te and destroye that,

wherby

wherby the publyke weale aswel was begonne, as is also p̄served, consydering that the publyke weale in estimation is to be p̄ferred befoze the materiall citie, as moche as the lyfe of man and renoume of vertue be of moze value than stone or timber, wherwith the walles and houses be buylded. And therfoze Aristotle, in desyning what is a Citie, doth not call it a place builded with houses, & enuironned with walles, but saith, that it is a company, which hath sufficiencie of liuing, and is cōstitute or assembled to the intent to lyue wel. Wherfoze it is the people and the weale of theym that maketh the citie. And the destruction and subuersiō therof, oughte with moze rigour and vehemente punishment, to be reuenged, if moze sharpe punishment maye be than deathe, than h̄mynge and beatynge downe of materiall houses or walles.

This well and deepelye consydered, it shall not be thought, that they that haue reasoned for the mitigation of Turinus punishment, had befoze in remembrance and sufficiently examyned the greuousnesse of his offence, accoꝝdyng as I haue declared it, but only considered his bare act without any circumstance. But yet the treason doone also to me, aggrieveth the trespase. Is it not treason, to conspire the destruction of thy soueraygne lord? most of al, of whom thou art entirely fauoured, and put in great trust. Is there any diuersitie betwene the stickyng of hym with a dagger, or kylling hym with poyson, and by some circumstance to cause his people to rebelle agaynst him, & in theyr furie to slee hym? who comparynge to gether the fourme and maner of these offences, wyll not suppose it reason, that the punishmentes therfoze, shoulde be

Ciii.

moche

moche moze belement and sharpe than for any other transgression, forsoe iustice limiteth equall punishment in proportion, accordyng to the importance, that is to saye, The greatnes or smallnesse of the offences.

Nowe let vs consider the qualitie or substance of Curinus myldemeanour. In the tyme of the emperour Seuerus and Caracalla, he was in smalle estimation, but after that I was elect emperour, he craftily smellynge out my disposition, by lyttell and lytell acquainted hym selfe with some of those, of whome for their vertues I had best opinion, and counterfaynyng their maners, he at the last so aptly set forth such grauitie, whiche he adourned also with a wonderfull sharpnes and promptitude of wytte, that he opteyned to be hyghly recommended vnto me by the wisest men of my counsaile, by whose aduyse fyrst I made hym one of my treasurers. Finally I called hym nere me, and made hym of my pryuyse counsaile, wherein we founde hym so necessary, that in our opinyon his sentences were equiuaient, and sometyme surmounted them that had ben in moste estimation. And to the intent that he wold augment that opinion and credence that we had in hym, he euer vsed a great seueritie or straytnes in his sentences agayn flatterers, dissentiblers, and persones corrupted, namely suche as solde their endeuour or diligence in obtaynyng our fauour in any matter or for any offyce. And by his industrye dyuerse were detected vnto me, and punished accordyng to their merites. For these causes I moze & moze toke hym in fauour, and to incourage other to ensue his example, I dydde aduaunce hym as ye knowe, to the hyghest dignities within the citie, except the consule

ful, & haue participate with hym our most priuie secretes, vsing him so familiarly, that dyuers other of our counsaylours haue partly disdained. Nowe beholde what he hath done. Firste he hath deceyued and mocked vs with his hypocrisy, abusynge our simplicitie and wynnynge our fauour, and not our fauour only, but also our credence & trust, wherby he mought finally worke to his priuate comoditie, and to our confusion. For he being with vs in such familiaritie as none other was, he practised those thinges that we most abhorred, that is to say extorcion, sellynge of ryghte and wrong, and marchandyng of offyces and dignities. To whome is extorcion or bybes not greuous? although the gyuer receyue great lucre. Is there any thyng to be more abhorred than sellynge of Iustyce, whiche knoweth no reward? Howe moche more intolerable is the sellynge of iniustice or wronge, wherby the one part suffreth damage by sustaining of wrong, the other is more indamaged by lesynge of his good name and also his money, if it happen, as it hath done oftentymes, by a good & rightuous gouernour, that he whiche hath done wrong, be compelled to make restitution: But principally and aboue all other am I mooste indamaged. For I vnwares & innocent being brought into the hatrede of men, shulde be destroyed before that I mought knowe that I were in peryll. Nowe consyder ye the importance of Curins offence, conferrynge it with al that whiche I haue reherced, & by the way remember, that not only he that steeth his prynce, or depopulateth his countrey, and maketh it desolate, but also he that conspireth to do it, and thereto endeuozeth hym selfe with al his puissance, though
he

he be let by some occasion or study, deserueth to dye by the determination of Iustyce distributife. By what meane he wolde do it, it is not material: except peraduenture some man mought suppose, that the acte were more odious of him that procurid the people to destroy their owne prince or countrey, whome they are bounde by allegiance & duetic with al their power to defende, than of hym that do sollicite strangers or ancient enemies, to invade his countrey. Finally if any comon person, neuer receyuyng of me any benefite wolde reporte in the eares of people, that I wente aboute to chaunge the estate of the weale publyke of this noble citie, to flee all the senatours, to withdraue the people from their ancient lyberties, and finally to byng the maiestic of the empyre into a tyrannye, and by suche false information excyteth and styreth the senate and people to hate me, and couete my destruction: suche one proued at the last to haue sayd falsely, I beleue ye wolde not thynke onely worthe to dye, but ye wolde with your owne handes dysmembze hym, and plucke hym in peeces. Why shulde you not than thynke, that Turinus, whome I moste fauoured, and was about me moste secrete, not by reportynge euill of me, (whyche perchaunce wolde not be helued) but by actuall dedes and openlye, commyttinge iniustyce, and tyrannye, in mayntaynyng, suppoptyng, and comforyng wronges, extorcions, oppresyons, and other enoynties agaynst the weale publyke, also aduauuncyng euill and vngratious personages to dygnities and offyces, wherby iustyce ought to be mynistred, and the publyke weale gouerned, and by these meanes quenchynge the good opinyon and loue that
all

all men had toward me, and chaungynge it to a feruent grutchē & hatred, they thynkynge that Turinus dyd al thyng by our apoyntmēt, styre the hartes of the people against me: why shuld ye not I say, think, that such one hath deserued to dye? And as he was with vs in syngular fauour and trust, and therein lyke to none other: so ought his dethe to be syngular and strange, that by the noueltie thereof it maye be moze terryble, wherby other may feare from hensforth to abuse in suche maner our affabilitie, which beinge in vs naturally without such a munition can not be sure and safely p̄serued. And for this our sentence no man ought to deme vs cruell, or to lacke mercy, yf he consyder diligently all that we haue spoken. And do also remember, that to kepe an infinite numbꝛe of men from the rygour of Iustyce, I spare not to execute the same rigour on hym, whom I specially fauoured.

¶ After that the emperour had cōcluded in this wise his reson, there was no man offred to reply therto, perceyvinge hym rather incued with zeale than with any particular displeasure, and to say the truthe, whan they had pondered his consyderations, not fyndyng sufficient argument to confound his opinion, fynally they all beinge in numbꝛe fyfty wise and honourable counsaylours, reioyced that they had soo wysc and vertuous an emperour, whyche preferred Iustyce and the weale of his people, befoze any p̄yuate affection or syngular appetite. Than immediatly folowed the execution of Turinus, whyche was appoynted by the Emperour, in founte as ye herde it declared in the laste Chapter.

THE IMAGE OF

Howe Alexander instructed and enterpayned them that were officers, and of his lyberalitie towarde them that dydde well thyr ductie s. Cap. xvi.



NOT VVITHSTANDYNG the seueritie of this noble emperour in the sharpe punishment of oppressions, extorcionis, and other offences of sensible importance, yet was he toward suche as iustely executed their offyces, for the publyke weale, very fauourable, gentyll, and bounteous. For if any of theym hadde peraduenture at the begynninge or fyrst entrie into his roume or antioitic, vsed lasse diligence, or omittted some thyng that he ought to haue doone, eyther for lacke of experience, or hauing not therein sufficient instruction, forscene alway that he dyd nothyng by corruption or hypocious affection: the Emperour callynge suche one to hym pryuely and aparte from all other, fyrste he wolde remembre hym for what cause he hadde called hym to that roume or authoritie, the importaunce or charge wherof he wolde also declare, and than wolde he somewhat commend hym for his honestie and temperance, wherewith he wolde confesse hym selfe to be satisfied, accordyng to his expectation, than sadlye and with a wonderfull grauitie, he wolde admonest or warn him of his lacke in diligence or in omission, shewing what damage the publyke weale mought sustayn, by lacke of his circumspection, and without that, their vertues shulde be vnprofytable to their offyce or dygnitie. After wolde he exhorte and requyre theym with gentyll countenance and wordes, to vse moze studie and trauaile aboute the affayres of the weale publyke, committed

mytted vnto them, promysyng to them for their good endeuour, his assystence & fauour with honest recompence in the ende of their trauayles. Moreover although he were thus industrious in espyenge out the demeanour of euery man in his office, yet wold he not suffre any other person to rebuke or to scozne theym, sayeng, that where any obedience is due, thense ought to be excludet al rebukynge or mockynge, consyderynge that therof ensueth cōtempt, which like a pestilēce consumeth all lawes and authoritie: And that he and the senate were iuges of the duties of them that be in authoritie. Also he vsed to say oftentymes, that it hapneth sometyme, that they, whiche be slacke in their duties at the begynnynge, after that they haue ben monished therof, eyther by their frendes, or by the goodnes of theyr propre wittes, they haue ben industrious and dilygent. Contrary wise other, which at the fyrst haue ben quyk, with a meruaylous dexteritie and promptnes, they haue by lytell and lytel releuted, and hauing gathered good estimation & abundance of substance, haue withdrawen them selues from peynful affaires, and at the last be to no man but onely to theym selves profitable.

¶ Whan any man had exercised his offyce duely, vpryghtly, and circumspectly in the publike weale, at the ende of his terme, whan there was a successour vnto hym being present appoynted, than wolde he say vnto hym that departed oute of his offyce, The publyke weale giueth to you right hartty thākes. Chā wold he reward hym in such wise as being priuate he mought accordyng to his degree, liue the moze honestly. His reward was in lande, cattel, horeses, grayne, yron, stone,

and other thynges necessary to buylde a commodious place, wherein after greate trauayle aboute the weale publyke, he moughte refrefhe bothe his body and spirites. And euer after the emperor had hym in mooste tender famyliaitie.

The emperours diligence in knowynge mens qualities,

Clerly in one thyng he vsed an incomparable diligence, wherein he surmounted in myne oppynion all other emperorrs. There was no man in dignitie or offyce, cyther by the assygnement of the senate, or by his commysyon, but that he knewe his persone, and fourme of lyuyng. And that moche moze is, he had in his chamber bylles contaynyng the numbze of theym, whiche were his souldiours in wages, and also euery one of their names, and what tyme they had serued. And whan he was by hym selfe quiete frome great affaires, he perused the numbze of them, their dignities wages and fees, to the intent that he wolde be for all occasions surely prouyded. And therfore whan he had any thyng to do with his souldiours, he named euery man in his communycation: and whan they were present, he called theym vnto hym. And whan he was sollicitated to promote any person, he marked his name, and than wolde he serche his booke of remembrance, wherein were the names of them that had serued hym, with the tyme of their seruyce. also their rewarde or promotion, and at whose request, or by whose sollicitation they were promoted.

In offyces he seldome suffred to be any deputies, sayinge, They onely shulde be aduanced, whiche by them selues and not by deputies could order the publyke weale. addyng thereto, that men of warre hadde their ministrations, and lerned men theirs, and accor-
dyng

dyngge therunto shulde roumes be disposed, that euery man shulde do that thyng wherof he had most knowlege. He had therfore wrytten what he had gyuen, and that remembryng, if he founde any man, to whom he had epyther gyuen nothyng, or that whiche in value was not equall vnto his merites: he called hym, and sayde, what is the cause that thou askest nothyng of me? Despyreste thou to haue me thy dettour? Aske some what, that lackynge promotion, thou complayne not of me. He gaue alwaye suche thinge as impayred not his honour, as goodes of men attaynted, not beinge in golde or syluer, for that was alway put in the common treasoure. Also he gaue baylyf wykes and rules of places ciuile, but neuer of warre, excepte it were to them whiche were experte and approued true capitaynes. Receyuours he chaunged euery yere, and called them an euil that nedes must be suffered. As for chiefe iudges, proconsules, or lieutenautes, he gaue none of those roumes in rewarde, but by a delyberate iugement epyther of him selfe or of the Senate. Such was the wonderfull and (as I mought say) moste curious circumspection of this excellēt pryncce Alexander, whiche in myne opinion can not be by mannes tunge sufficiently extolled.

Howe curionsse the emperour Alexander was in assignynge of iustices in his lawes, and howe he vsed lyberalitie or sharpnesse towards them accordynge to theyr merites. Cap. xxii.



VCHE PERSONS as he assignyd to be iudges in causes ciuile, he with good delyberation and profe, dydde chose them which were beste lerned in the lawes, and

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were of moche auncientie, and therewith hauyng good grautie, and were knowen to be sincere and of good conscience, and vnto them was appoynted an honorable stipende: In so moche as to them that were inges in prouynces, was gyuen to euery of theym. xx. Romayne poundes of syluer, syxe syluer pottes, two mules, two mulettes, two hoxses, a hoxsekeper and a mulettour, two robes oꝝ habites, to syt in iudgement, one honozable garment to weare in his house: one foꝝ his bayne oꝝ studye: Also a hundred pieces of golde: Also ouer one cooke, and if they were vnmariied, one concubine. And after that they had lefte theyꝝ administration, they shulde yelde agayne the mules, mulettes, hoxses, mulettours, and cookes, whiche all the sayde tyme were founde of the common treasure, the resydue they shulde receyue styll, if they had done wel in theyꝝ offyce: And if they had done euyll, they shuld paye the quatreple oꝝ foure tymes soo moche as they receyued.

The neuer wolde suffer that any offyce, whiche had iurisdiction, oꝝ execution of Justyce, shulde be solde oꝝ exteyned by giuing of money, oꝝ any other reward. And therfoꝝe where one of his moste pryue seruantes had promysed to one, to obteyne of the Emperour foꝝ hym an offyce, which had ciuile iurisdiction oꝝ administration of Justice, and therfoꝝe had taken a hundred pieces of golde: The emperour comanded, that he shuld be hanged on a galouse openly in the hygh way, wherin the emperours seruantes shulde moste often passe to his manours, withoute the citie. And whan Alplane, one of the sage men of his counsaile blamed
his

his sentence as cruell and representynge a tyranny, he patiently haerde hym, and answered immediatlye, sayinge, The residue of my maners declareth me not to be furiose, or to take pleasure in crueltie, specially to them whom I fauour and haue nexte aboute me. See you not, what woymes and flies wolde increase to consume the grayne and frutes of the erthe, if the picauntynesse of the sprynge tyme and begynnyng of somer shulde euer continue, and the sharpe and terrible wynter dyd not with his sharpe frostes and bytter wyndes purge the erthe of suche euill increase. Who knoweth not, that in al thing that is swete, woymes be founden, which wil sone consume al that they byde in, if it be not preserued by layng about it some thing bitter or very vnswete? If the ancient lawes of this cite iudgeth hym to dye, that spitefully pulleth down or defyleth the emperours image, or countersayteth his coyne, seale or sygne manuel, of how moch congruence & more with iustice is it, that he shuld sufferdeth, which with selling of the administration of iustice, plucketh down and defyleth amonge the people the good renoume of the Emperour, or countersayteth & changeth the mynd of the Emperour, which is his very image immortal, wherby bothe the pryncce and the people suffereth incomparably more damage than by forging of money. Do not ye being so wysse a man, consyder, that he whiche byeth a thyng, maye sel it? And for my part while I lyue, I wyl neuer suffer any auctoritie to be vsed as marchaundise. For that whiche I suffer, I maye not with myne honour condemne or prohibite. And I can not for shame punishe a man for sellynge that thyng
that

that he byeth. Wherfoze if ye consyder euerye thyng well, ye shall fynde no cause to blame me of crueltie, oꝝ resemble me to a tyrante.

With these woꝝdes Alpiane founde hym selfe satisfed, and wonderynge at the Emperours wysedom, ceassed to speake any moze agaynste hym in any semblable iudgement.

Whan he made any oꝝdinary iudges, aduocates, oꝝ pꝛoctoures, he caused them to be openly named, requyrynge the people and gyuyng them courage, if there were cause to accuse them, to pꝛoue the cryme by open wytnesse. And he was wonte to saye, Sense chꝛysten men and ieiwes in the election of pꝛiestes, caused them to be in suche foume tryed: it shulde be inconuenient, if the same were not bled in the gouernours of countreys, vnto whom were commytted both the lyues and substance of men that be vnder them. Foꝛescene if they dyd not sufficiently pꝛoue it, and that it semed to be malicious detraction, the accusour shulde foꝛthwith be beheaded.

Of the great care and diligence that Alexander vsed aboute the publyke weale, and of certayne newe offycers oꝝdered by hym. Cap. p. lxxxiii.



THE HOVSEHOLDE seruauntes and counsayloꝝ of the emperour being well tried, and by his owne example bꝛoughte in good oꝝder, also the heed offycers, iuges, and all other that had authoritie in the publyke weale, beinge well chosen and instructed by the example of the emperours court: it was a woꝛdet to beholde, with howe lyttell difficultie, and howe sone

soone the residue of the weale publyke was broughte into a good facion, all men delytyng in vertue, and prayng the beaultie and commoditie therof in their superiours. Also reioysinge at the affabilitie and gentylnesse of the noble emperour, and semblably dea- dyng his seueritie, they brought at the last vertue in custome, wherby hapned that such vices as befoze seemed lyttell, and were nothyng regarded, became to all men, or at the leest to the moze parte detestable. For so moche as the emperour neded not to send forth any espiall to espye mens conditions. For suche as were euyl, were euery where noted, and of all men dys- ayned. So that by them it hapned, as it doth by one that is sycke in a horre feuer, whiche fyrst abhorreth euery medicine that the physition doth offer to gyue him: but whan he beholdeth the physition drynke any thyng therof, thā is he the better content to assay of the same: but by reason that his tast is corrupted, to him al thing that is holsome seemeth vnpleasaunt, be it neuer so delectable, finally fearing cyther to dye, or to be compelled to receyue a moze greuous medicine, he taketh the potion by lyttell & lyttell, vntyll at the last by custom of drynkyng therof, he hath brought that potion to be as familyar and agreable vnto his tast, as was his com- mon and mozte vsual drynke. And than doth he scoyne bothe them that wylfully wolde dye rather than they wolde take medicine: and also them that be their keepers or rulers, whiche do suffer them to take only that which contenteth their appetite. Semblably dyd they who by the emperours example, accustomed theym selves to vertue and honesty, eschewynge suche vices, whiche befoze they had haunted.

There the emperour Alexander dyd ordeyn new officers in the weale publike, and what belonged to their authorities. La. xij.



NOWE LET vs retourne vnto the emperour Alexander. When he perceyued that by the example of him, and other great officers, the people began to apply & wared apt to receyue due reformation of the state of theyr lyuynge, he meruaylously therat reioysynge, gaue hym selfe holly to the restorynge of the publyke weale to hit pristinate honour. Wherefore to the intent that nothyng shulde escape unreformed, he ordeyned to be in the citie and also in the prouynces many officers, somewhat mo than befoze were accustomed to be, appoyntyng causes ciuile and criminall to sundry iurisdiccions, sayenge, where one man hath many matters to order of sundry effectes, it fareth with hym as it dothe with a mans stomacke, for the stomake receyuech meates, dyuers in qualities and effectes, whiche all togither can not be by one mans Nature duly concocte and dygested. For somme meates be in operation hotte, and be not apte but for a colde stomake: some contrarywise be very cold, and in a cold stomake wyl neuer be boyled. other meates be of grosse & harde substance, and requyre a strong and myghty stomake to endue it: other be softe and delycate, and beinge to hastily digested, it nothyng profyteth. Not withstanding any one of the sayde meates beinge in one stomake, are better prepared to digestion than many, consideringe the trauaile that Nature must haue in the seperation of sundry qualities, that be in diuers meates to prepare them to their effectes, wherto they were ordeyn-

ordained. And if the naturall heate in mans bodye be not therto sufficient, that whiche is ordained for nourysshynge of lyfe, is conuerted to corruption of blode and other humours, whiche is cause of syckenes. But yf any meate happen to come into the stomake, whiche meate is apt for his temperature, there shal he be perfectly concocte or boyled, and by a naturall dygestion made apte for the nourysshynge and preservation of other membyres. Accor dyng to this similitude, If one man being in authorite, which I resemble vnto the stomak, be he neuer so wel lerned or wise, if he take vpon hym the ordynng and dyscussyng of all maner causes, his wytte, whiche is in the stede of nature, shalbe therewith so moch incumbred, that being studiouse or occupied aboute one matter, in the meane tyme an other is appayzed: and yf he leaue the fyrste, to resourme the seconde or thyrde, the fyrste is than in warse case than he founde it, the parties contendyng being chaufed, and in a more feruent contention. Or in a cryminall cause the offenders beinge lefte vncorrected, puttyng al feare apart, not only do perseuer but also increse in their euyl doinges. Finally where one man hath the depeachyng of many matters, none one of them may be broughte to a perfecte conclusion. For as moche as to euery act belongeth oportunitie, whiche can neuer be founde, where many matters be enterlaced, oportunitie beinge onely espyed by a vigilant and constant studye. Howe ouer where many men be in authoritie, good wyttes shal not be hydde nor unrewarded, and many shal apply theym to vertue and studye, vppon hope of preferment. And where as be many particular authorities, there shal sundry matters be the soner

depeached. This was the sayeng of Alexander.

¶ And therfore by the consent of the senate and people, he ordeyned fyrst accordyng to the counsel of Plato, certayne persons, whyche were named Conseruators of the weale publyke: to whose offyce it appertayned to se, that the chyldren of the Romaynes were well brought vp and instructed accordyng to the capacite of their wyttes, from the age of seuen yeres vnto syxtene, and that in theyr playes and recreation were nothyng dishonest. Also that at certayne tymes appoynted, they were exercysed in ryding, if they were sonnes of gentylmen. Also they and the resydue, were exercysed in swymmyng, runnyng, washtyng, and to occupye all weapons of warre. Semblablye that the maydens, durynge the sayde age, were brought vp in shamefastnes, humblenesse, and occupation necessary for a housewyfe. And that they were not scene out of their fathers houses, but only in the temples, vnto the which women only resorted, and that in the company of their mothers or such other as were in their places.

¶ Moreover it pertayned to the sayd Conseruators, to controll euery housholder, of what estate or degre so euer he were, yf there were founde any excessse in his fare, or that he had resort of riottous persons: or that he kept any mo seruauntes than had rouines in theyr howses, or in some necessary busynesse were contynually occupied.

¶ Also that no man nether in hym self, his wyfe, nor his seruauntes shulde excede or in any part change the apparayle that by the lawes or the emperours ordeynances had ben prouyded.

¶ Moreover to se that no bitailing house nor bozdel house

house shoulde haue their doores open, or receyue any person, eyther befoze the sonne risen, or after the sonne sette, whyche was done to the intende that euery man shulde be knowen, that repaired to suche places, and moche good hapned by that prouisyon.

These Conseruatours were thye scoze in numbze, that is to saye, For euery trybe two, Rome beinge deuided into. xxx. tribes. and twise in the wike they assébled and dydde communicate suche defaultes as they had founden, and forthly with all they certified to the prouoste of the citie all the defaultes, reseruyng the education of chyldzen, which they them selfe refourmed by sharpe admonition giuen to theyr parentes: whom if they founde disobediente or neglygent, they certyfied therof the Senate, who caused the sayde parentes to be punished as ennemies of the publyke weale of the citie. Them whiche offended in the other articles, the prouoste of the citie punished, accordyng to the statutes and ordynances in such cases prouided.

The Pretozes, Questozes, and other lyke offyces and authorities he augmented in number, all be it he deuyded theyr iurisdiccions, to some he appoynted onely contractes, in the whiche woꝛde were comprehended all thynges wherin bargayne or promyse was conteyned: and that he caused to be extremely crampned and discussed by the sayde officers, and in whome was founden to be any dysceipte or faythe broken, he withoute hope of any remyslyon or pardon, was immediately beaten with whyppes: which was also the punishment of them that had stolen pryuyly without any violence. The emperour saying, That it was but a fantasye and a thyng to laughe at, to make a dysference

ference betwene stealynge and disceit oꝝ byreakynge his bargayne, where it appereth to be no dyuersitie, but onely that this hath truste and credence ioyned with it: and the other hath none, but is a synge iniurye. Wherfoze in reason it is the lyghter offence, where, by the other meanes, not onely the thyng is gotten with as moche iniustice as if it were stolen: but also saythe other wyse called truste, whiche is the foundation of Justice, and consequently of the publike weale, is dissolved. And therfoze it ought to be reuenged with no lesse punishment than synple theft.

¶ Puruayours foꝝ graine to the citie he made of honeste and diligent persones, and to theym he assigned particuler auditours, notwithstandinge at the ende of the yere, bothe the puruayours and auditours lefte theyꝝ offices, and other were chosen.

¶ To them that were his baylyffes receyuours surueyours and other that procured oꝝ gathered the reuenues of his crowne, he gaue competente salaries: but he fauoured them not, callinge them a necessarye euyll. Wherfoze if he perceyued, that any of them had gathered moche rycheesse, he wolde take al from them, sayinge, Let it suffice you, that ye haue taken so long pleasure with my goodes: and beware that ye take not from other men iniustely, lest ye make me moze angry with you. All be it if he perceyued any of them afterwarde to lyue vpryghtly, and to haue good wyt and lernynge he aduanced them to some other roumes, wherwith they confessed theyꝝ serupce to be recompenced. fynally he neuer punished any man greuously foꝝ his owne particular causes, and the sharpnesse that he vsed in punishunge offences agaynste the weale

weale publyke. whan his considerations were wel examyned and pondered, it was thoughte by all wyse men to be ryghte expedient.

TO the prouoste he ioyned. xiiii. whiche had benne Consules, calling them gouernours of the citie, commaundynge them to here with the prouoste, the affaires of the citie. And that no sentence were gyuen, nor act made, but that they al, oꝝ the moze part were therat presente.

The defestation that Alexander had into idelnesse and the vyces therof procedynge, and of dyuerse promissions that he made agaynst it. Cap. xx.



HIS most noble Emperour was so ro-
ted in vertue and feruent zeale toward
the weale publyke, that all vyce was to
hym almooſte intollerable. And foꝝ as
moche as he percepued, that idelnesse,
that is to ſaye, Ceasynge from neceſſarye occupation
oꝝ ſtudy, was the ſynke, whiche recepued all the ſpyr-
kyng canelles of vyce, which ones being bymme ful,
ſodeynly runneth ouer thꝛough the citie, and with his
peſtiferous ayre infecteth a great multitude of people
er it may be ſtopped & clenſed. And that not withſtan-
dynge, the people being ones coꝛrupted with this pe-
ſtilence, ſhall with greatte diffycultie and with longe
tracte of tyme be deliuered. And yet ere that ſhall be
bꝛought well to paſſe, a great parte of the people ſhall
peryſhe: whiche this wyſe and vertuouſe Emperour
conſyderynge, and hauynge therof maruaylouſe care,
to the intent to withdraue men from all excuſes of i-
delneſſe, he with an incomparble prudence ordeyned
foꝝ

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for euery estate some forme of exercise to be necessary-
 ly or vertuously occupied, begynnynge at the base
 people or communers, whiche were moste in number,
 and proceeding forth to euery other degre or condition.
Cfirste all vyle occupation or labour, whereby na-
 ture moughte be corrupted, or bodely strength decay-
 ed, he caused onely to be exercised by bondemenne or
 straungers, that is to say, not beinge citezens. Sem-
 blably, he wold not suffer any citezen to be a marchāt
 aduenterer, nor to sell any thyng by retayle, that he
 hym selfe wought not, or were not made by his owne
 prouision or studie: sayinge, That the Romaynes by
 traauayling into sundry countreys, gathered & brought
 into the cite with theyr marchaundise, the vices of o-
 ther people, which apprehended by other (as the moze
 part of men do delyte in newe fangelnes) is the cause
 of moze damage to the publyke weale, than a hundred
 tymes the value of the marchaundise may be commo-
 diouse. Whocouer fyndynge ones a delite to accumu-
 late treasure, and desyrynge to excede one an other in
 rychesse, they attende so moche to theyr owne particu-
 lar lucre, that they abandon al liberalitie, beneuolence
 and charitie, excepte it be very fewe. fynallye they be
 neuer to the publyke weale profytable. Also they that
 retayle that whiche is bought of the craftes man that
 warketh it, they not onely defraude other of the iuste
 pryce, contrary to the directe order of equitte, but also
 do consume the tyme idelly, beinge not occupied nei-
 ther in bodely exercise, nor in vertuous or commodi-
 ouse studie. Therfore to suche practyse or mystrye, he
 admytted onely straungers. And also to bynne out
 of other countreys and to selle to the citezens all suche
 thynges

thynges as therof was none growynge in Italye, oꝛ not in sufficient quantitie, as wolles, mettall, & sylke. Foreseene that none of it were wꝛoughte in any place out of Italy. And of suche strangers it was lesfull to the Romaynes, to bye in grolle, and retayle, All be it there shuld no mo retayle than were appoynted by the Senate: and those also shulde be examyned and assigned by the Prouiost of the citie, and suche as were to hym associate. And the sayde marchaunte straungers were by the Emperours commaundement very courtailly entertayned, and so were all other straungers, whiche repayed to the citie to bye there any thyng, oꝛ elles to practyse any excellent kunnyng oꝛ crafte, and were exonerate of all charges foꝛ the warres, excepte it were onely foꝛ the defence of the citie. But of theym he suffred to be but a certayne number, whiche was not laufull foꝛ them to excede. And vnto them were assigned of the Romaynes certayn iudges and officers, which yerely also were chaunged. But nowe to treate howe he kepte the people from idelnesse.

¶ Firste he prouyded, that where there was not any artifice oꝛ craft necessary, but that it mought be found within the citie, which he ordred in this wyse. He knew euery yere ones by the officers called Cenfores, howe moche people were dwellinge in the citie of euery age. Also by them whiche were called Ediles, howe many householdes there were of euery crafte. Than wolde he diligently enserche, of what perfection they warres were, wherein they were occupied, and if he found therein moche lacke, so that the byars shulde suffer decaymente, than intoynd he the seller therof, that he shuld no moꝛe woꝛke to sale, buttill he were instructed

more perfectly. Not withstandinge that person was compelled to worke vnder an other man, whiche was more perfectly, vntill his worke were commended.

¶ Moreover he ordeyned, that after that the children of the communers could wyte and rede perfectly, they were set to some artifice or crafte. But if within one yere it appered, that they were vnapt thereto, or that it were moche contrarye vnto theyr nature: than the Conseruatours examyning as moche as they coude, to what crafte or science necessary theyr wittes were mooste apte, vnto that shulde they forthewith be sette, to lerne of theynt whiche were good workemen. And therfore he gatte oute of all partes of the empire the mooste kunnyng and perfecte craftesmen in euery science to dwel in the citie, not onely compellyng them by his auctoritie, but alluringe them with yerely stipendes of grayne, to the fyndyng of theyr householdes, and also to be free frome all maner exactions in peace or warre, to instructe in theyr craftes perfectly the youthe of the citie.

¶ The craftes, whiche he wolde that the more parte of Romaynes shuld occupie, were those, wherin both the body and wytte moughte be exercysed, whiche he sayde perteyned to men that were free of condition: other occupations, wherin was bodely labour onely, he sayde was for bondemen and beastes. And therfore within the territoire of the citie of Rome, and in the manours and fermes of the gentylmen Romaynes, he ordeyned that baillyfes and surueyours of husbandry shuld be fre men and citezens, and that the plough men and labours shulde be bondmen and strangers. In other cities besydes Rome, some of these thynges were

were chaunged after the necessitie and nature of the people, wherin this emperour alway had a maruaylous consyderation.

After this diligent prouision, if any one of the people had ben found idell by the space of one hole day, except in feastfull days & other tymes of solace appointed, he was forthwith examyned, and haupnge no lefull and approued excuse, he was fyrste whyppted, and after by the Conseruatours commytted to one of the craftes, that he was of, and for euery day that he was openly sene to be idell, the persone vnto whom he was commytted, shuld for a moneth set hym to any labour that he lyst, as his slaue or bondiman, gyuyng to him meate and drynke onely. And it was not to any other man lefull, durynge that tyme, to gyue hym meate or drynke, or to speake with hym, other wyse than to rebuke hym. And after the sayd correction, the said Conseruatours shulde see that he were bestowed where he mought worke with a competent luyng.

The semblable order was diligently, and (as I mought saye) exactly kepte by the Emperours straite commaundements, bothe in Grece and Italpe. And where execution anye tyme fayled, or was neglected, the officers were deposed with open reproche, and forfayture of the thyrde parte of theyr substance: which was employed immediatly on gragne, and distrybuted equally and freely amonge the people wel occupied, within the cite or towne where suche thyng happened. And with great difficultie the sayde officers in suche wyse deposed, coulde euer after opteyne of the emperour, to come in auctoryte. By the feare wherof, and the sayde distribution vnto the people, this ordinance

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was neuer omptted, durynge the lyfe of Alexander, wherfoze it was a wonder to beholde, howe lodeynly idelnes was euery where excluded, and kunnynge in euery occupation augmented.

Of Baynes and places of exercyses, made for the people of Rome, by the emperor Alexander. Cap. xxi.



MOREOVER to the intente that the people shulde not be to moche fatigate with contynuall labour, wherby their bodyes shulde become decrepite and vnapt to the warres, he not onely amended and enlarged the hotte bathes made by dyuers emperours and princis befoze hym, wherin the people of Rome accustomed to refreshe and make cleane their bodyes, but also made new bathes moze pleasant and sumptuous, ioyning them to those that were made by Nero the emperour, conuayeng into theym water naturally hotte, runnyng by conduites of marble from mountaynes in Naples, by the space of .CC. myles from the citie of Rome. And also he brought into somme partes of the baynes colde water from the moste pure and delectable springes, the people to vse the oone or the other at their owne pleasures. Moreover he bought certain houses, whiche stode nygh to the sayde bayne, and caused them to be pulled downe, and that place he made to be leuelled, and to be sette with yonge trees in the moost pleasant facion, hauing there large places, wherin the people after that they were bayned, moughte rounne, scape, or wastell, or vse any other semblable exercyse, to the whiche places the sayd trees gaue a commodyeus and pleasant vmbiage. And in the wastelyng places

ces the ground was thicke couered with Camomyle, Origanum, and other lyke grasses, bothe swete in sa- uour and softe to fall vpon. Also the sayde emperour moche delyted in the beholdynge of the sayd exercises. wherfore it was the most parte of his pastyme or so- lace, to see the people exercised in fourme aforesayd, or els the gentylmen to assay them selfe in fourme of ba- rayle, as hereafter shall be declared.

TO the sayde baynes and places of exercyse were assigned a numbre of keepers and ministers, to whome were gyuen sufficient salaries. And those places were alway kepte so nete and dylectable, that to the eye or nose, was neuer any thyng vnpleasaunt or noyfull: by the whiche cleanness the cite was meruaylouselye preserued from sundrye sykenesses, whiche vndou- tedly do grow of corrupt exhalations, ventynge out of mens bodyes. And for that cause to auoyde occasyon of pestylence and other horryble dyscasses, this Empe- rour prohybited by speciall lawes, ingurgitations, bankettes, late suppers & longe. Moreover causynge the controllers of markettes (of whom there were di- uers) whiche were euery yere chosen of speciall honest men, and not auaricyous or nedy, to haue a vygilant eye on the market, that not onely vytayles were solde by a due weyght and measure, and at prices set by the senate, but also that they were not in any part corrup- ted in fauour or substaunce, and that no suche thynges were solde for vitayle, wherein any popson naturallie mought be ingedred and hyd, as musherons, frogges, and other lyke thynges, founden oute rather by wan- ton appetites, than by nature ingendred to serue for mans sustynauce, and in these thynges, yf any lacke

were percepued to be, the emperour and senate with a dilygent scrutiny founde out the persone, by whose default it hapned, with also the controller, which seemed to be neglygent. And the seller was accorpyng to the lawes sharply punyshed. The controller or other officer, yf there were founden in hym negligence, was with great rebukes expellyd from his offyce, and hadde the tenth part of his mouable goodes confiscate, which beinge brougnt into money, and bestowed on wheate, was distributed amonge the people, which dwelled in that part of the cite, where the offence was comitted.

It is here to be consydered, that suche summes as were forsayted by corrupt or neglygent officers, came neuer to the vse of the emperour, nor he gaue theym to any person, but employeng it on coine, he caused it to be distributed amonge the people. Whiche in myne opinion was a meruaylous polycie, for thereby he declared, that he vsed severitie not for his owne particular aduantage. And also the people, which suffred detriment by the lack of the officers, recepued the benefite of that which was forsayted. Which caused a multitude to ly alway in a wayte to fynd some misdoemeanour in the officers, to the intent they mought therby be the better releued. And the officers at the last becam merueilous circumspect. And fynally the prince for his wysedome and charitie not only praysed, but also as a vniuersal father of al his people was moste enterly beloued.

Touchyng such persones as were in extreme povertie, and eyther by greuous sykkenes or feeble age, were decrepite, or otherwyle not able to labour, I wyl after the next chapyter declare the incomparable prudence of this excellent emperour.

Cof

Of the magnificence of the emperor Alexander in sumptuous and necessary warres, and in what exercises he caused the nobles and gentlemen of Rome to be occupied, Ca. xxii.



BESIDES the baynes, whiche Alexander remembred, made in the cite of Rome, Alexander made also in euery royalme being subiecte to the empyre of Rome, common baynes, he also made greatte and stronge barnes in many cities, for the people to kepe in their priuate stulle and goodes, suche as had not of their owne priuate houses of sufficient strength for that purpose. He made also many fayre houses and mancion places, whiche immediately he gaue to his frendes, whome he perceyued to be mooste trusty and honest. In a place called Baianum, he made warres magnifike or sumptuous, garnished with ymages of them whiche were toynd to hym by any affinitie. He made meres and pooles to be wondered at, byngyng the see vnto them, and causyng them to be replenyshed with strange and princypall fyshes. Also he edyfied great and wonderfulle byddges, and repayred all them whiche were made by Traiane, leauyng not withstanding to Traiane the name and honour therof. In the market place of Nerua, he set vp great ymages of the mooste noble emperours, some on foote, & some on horsbacke, with their titles ouer their heedes, and betwene euery ymage a greate pyllat of brasse, contaynyng all their gestes and actes worthe remembrance. He made also a basilike or place, where ciuile controuerfies were herde and iuged, which conspyred in bryde one hundred fete, and in length a thousande,

lande, and stode all vpon pylers of porpbery, whiche is a stone of purple colour, and the pylers were garnished with ymages of noble pyncis, Grekes & Romanynes, wroughte in pure whyte marble, with their names ouer their heedes, and vnder their feete, theyr actes wrought also in very smal ymages of copper in a moste lyuely and quicke demonstration. But in one kynde of magnificence he passed all other. For where diuerse cities by earthquakes had ben frushed, & therewith defourmed, he of the reuenues of the same countreys, gaue great summes of money to the redifying of them. And many heretofores restozed to their pryncinate beaultie and strengthe, diuerse he made moze substancyall and sure. There was no towne of reputation in his tyme decayed, but that he caused the occasion therof to be serched for, and to be forthewith reformed. The haucens of Italy and Sicile, he caused not only to be clesed and repaired, but also to be made moze stronger, to defende outwarde hostilitie.

¶ Moreover, for the exercise of them, whiche were aboute the astate of the comon people, he repayred and newe made many places and thynges necessary, whiche is expedient to be put in remembraunce.

First he vsited all the libraries that were in the citie: And where he found any bokes deformed eyther with auncientie, or by neglygent keepynge, or by any other meanes, he caused them to be newe wrytten and layde in their places, and the houses to be not onely clenied, but also made moze ornate and necessary: As making for euery boke an huche locked, to the intent that whā any man came to study there, he shulde haue no moo bokes to loke on, than one of the keepers of the lybra-

ry (wherof there were a good numbꝛe retained to giue their attendance, hauing therfoꝛe competent salaries) shulde deliuer vnto them. And befoꝛe they departed, the sayd keeper shulde peruse the leaues of the booke, that they looked in, to thintent that yf they dyd cutte oꝛ rent any out of the volume, they shulde be apprehended, and by the offycers called Ediles, comytted vnto pꝛyson, and there shulde remayne vntyll they had repaired sufficiently the booke that they had defaced, & also caused an other lyke booke to be wꝛytten, and bestowed in the sayde lybꝛary. And yf any suche persone had escaped by negligence oꝛ fauour of the keeper, and the defaute founden by some other, the keeper was expelled from his office without hope of remysion, and was also compelled to redoube the harme in lyke wise as he shulde haue done whiche committed the offence, yf he immediatly had ben apprehended. He made also a newe lybꝛary, garnyschyng it as well with most pꝛincipall warkes in euery science, as also with the ymagines of the authoꝛs, wꝛought moſte excellently bothe in imboſed warke and poꝛtrayture: whych lybꝛarye was deuꝛded into sundꝛy galeryes, accoꝛdyng to dyuers sciences, all buylded rounde in the fowrme of a cerkle, and beinge seꝛeꝛate with walles one frome another: And in that poꝛtion that belonged to Geometꝛy and Astronomy, were about the walles great cartes and tables, contayning sundꝛy lynes, figures, descriptions, dimenſions, oꝛ measuryngeſ, conuerſions of ſterres motiōs and reuolutiōs of planettes, ſpheres and imaginaty cerkles, with also material ſperes quadꝛantes, aſtolabes, and all other instrumentes belongyng to thoſe ſciences. Semblable tables were

in that porcion that pertayned to Arithmetike & musyke, contayning the sundry proportions of numbers and tunes, and therto was added harpes, lutes, organes softe in soundynge. For all instrumentes that were lowde & made great noyse, were excluded thence, the cause appereth to wyse readers. The place whiche was compassed aboute with the sayde lybzaries, was also rounde, and decked with pleasant imagerye, and haupnge seates commodiously aboute it: where they that came to study in the lybzaries, moughte walke or sytte at their pleasure, and communicate eche with other that whiche they had radde or perceyued. And to these places there fayled not to come dayly a greatte numbꝛe of gentylmen.

For other necessary exercise, the emperour inclosed with a hyghe walle, a grunde ioynynge to his owne palaice, contayning in circuitte one Italpen myle and a halfe, which within the wall was enuyronned with a galery of thye heightes for men to stande in and beholde, whiche galleries were also of stone. And in the space that two men mought stande & talke, there was a small pyller of marble, decked with ymages of men that deserued noble remembrance. The place was decayded or set out with many large alayes, playne and strayght, conteynyng in breade one hundred fecte, and in length one thousande fete, those alays were floored with playster, and the resydue was thycke spꝛad with fyne grasse and camomyl, haupng here and there bankes for men to rest them whan they were wepye. The yonge gentylmen of the citie whan they repaired to the palaice to gyue their attendance, they in the meantyme that the emperour was in preparynge hym forwarde

warde, exercysed them selves, some in the sayde alays, in runnyng or castynge the balles, somme in the grene places wastlynge leappynge, and castynge of the dart. And in the galleries stode other of the nobilitie & gentylmen, suche as lysted to beholde them. And without the walles were great and hygh trees of cypresse and fyre, with brode toppes, conuayd thither with great industry: which trees dyd cast ouer the walles a pleasant vmbage or shadowe, and defended them that did exercise from the vehement heat of the sunne beames. And also in wynter kepte the place moze mylde & temperate in resoluyng or bycakyng the violent and cold blastes of the northern and western wyndes. Often tymes the emperour hym selfe delyted to come and beholde the sayde exercyses: but in his owne persone he neuer exercysed hym selfe but priuily, and a few being present, to the intent that if he were vanquished in any feate (as sometyme it hapned, although fewe menne surmounted hym in strength and delyuerces) he wold not gyue occasion to be dyspraised, & had in contempt of his subiectes. Whan by extreme heate in the sommer, or by rayne & other vehement tempestes of wynter, the sayde exercyses moughte not be vsed, than the yonge gentylmen some repaired to the saide lybraries and passed the tyme vertuouesly in readdyng, wrytyng, or playeng on instrumentes, dyuers haunted the scholes of philosophers, rhetozicians, and poetes (of the whiche sorte there were at that tyme in Rome a greate numbze) and herde them either recite their owne warkes, or expounde other olde authoys. Many wolde resorte to the common houses calld Theatres, and purposyng some matter of philosophye, wolde there dys-

Lit.

pute

pute openly. Other wolde pyke out of some auncient
 story some question concernyng martiall or ciuile po-
 lytie, and in commendynge or dyscommendynge it, de-
 clare their opynyons and sentences in the fourme of a
 consultation: whiche exercise was of no lytell impo-
 tance to the increase of wytte and prouision of coun-
 saylours. And at suche exercyse the emperour prynci-
 pally deltyed to be present in his owne person, as well
 to haue knowledge of other mens wittes and toward-
 nes, as also to gather of their reasons some sentence
 or matter, which being kept in remembrance, mought
 perchaunce profyte hym in matter more serious or er-
 nest occasion. Besydes these persons there sayled not
 to be some, more gyuen to play than to study, whiche
 also had a fayre and large place in the palayce, where
 they played at the chesse and other lyke games, wher-
 in they mought be pleasantly occupied, wherein the win-
 nyng was neyther golde nor syluer, but only victo-
 ry and commendation of wytte or dyligence. Not with-
 standynge it was lesulle for theym at suche games to
 play for money, so it exceded not a summe certayn, whi-
 che was assessed by the emperour and senate. At dyce
 it was not to any man lesull to playe: The emperour
 hauyng this sentence alway in his mouth, Our fore-
 fathers trusted in wysdome and prowesse, and not in
 fortune: and despyed victorie for renoume and hono-
 ur, and not for money: And that game is to be abhoyred,
 wherein wytte sleapeth, and ydelnes with couetyse is
 onely lerned. And for the mortal hate and indignation
 that he bare to this losse of tyme (for so ought it rather
 to be called, than a play) He made a lawe, which was
 ratified by the authoritie of all the senate and people.

That

That yf any manne were founde playeng at dyce, he shuld be taken for frantike, or as a foole natural, whiche coulde not wel gouerne hym selfe: and his goodes and landes shuld be comitted to sage and discrete personages, apoynted by the hole senate, whiche employing on hym that which was thought necessary for his estate or degree, shulde byynge truely that whiche remayned to the comon treasore: to the intent that whan he returned to thysse, or was seene by a good space of yeres, to vse good husbandy, in employeng well and honestly that position that he hadde, he shulde be estates restored as well to his landes and goodes, as to the reuenues and profyttes that were growen in the meane tyme, whyle they were confyscate or in the rule of his tutours. Finally nexte to theues and extortioners the emperour moste hated them, whiche after the sayd lawe being made, were found to be dyse players, and wold not haue any of them calld eyther to office or counsaile.

Of hospitalite and other prouision made by Alexander for men that were decrepite, or so diseased that they coulde not labour. Lapi. xxiii.



IN A TYME the Emperour Alexander visytinge all partes of the citie of Rome, to beholde howe the Temples and other solcenne edifices were kepte and repaired, in passinge through the stretes he behelde a great numbre of persones, some defaced with horrible diseases, and some mutylate of theyr members, as lackynge armes or legges, or the necessarpe vse of the one or the other, whiche he consyderynge with a
A.iii. seuer

seuere and graue countenaunce, at the laste sayde to a noble mā called Julius Frontinus, who at that tyme was Pryetor or Gouvernour of the citie vnder the Emperour: What sorte of people be these, whiche beinge horrible and noyouse to beholde, do seeme vnprofitable to the weale publyke, sens they can not labour, but consume those thynges whiche are ordeyned for them that can defende the weale publyke and vs whan occasion requireth? Chan aunswered Frontinus.

Sy: they be your naturall subiectes, wherof parte be depriued of theyr membyres by chaunce of warre, where in they haue serued you and your noble progenitours Emperours of Rome, some doo lacke the office of theyr membyres, by naturall infirmities, the residue, whiche to your maicstie and all other seemeth to be an horrible spectacle, are men attached with greuous sickeneses, whiche do happen to them (as physicians do say) by the putrefaction of naturall humours. And wherof (saide the Emperour) procedeth such putrefaction of humours, suppose you? Cruely (sayde Frontinus) as I haue redde and herde saye, it cometh of oone of these causes, eyther for as moche as great abundaunce of superfluous humours thicke and clammy, be dispersed in the body, wherby the pores (whiche are lyttel holes in the skynne throughout all the body, that be inuisible) be stopped, soo that the exhalation or breath inclosed in the body, maye not issue out by the same pores: wherunto a strange or vnnaturall heate beinge ioyned, maketh the sayde putrefaction. Somtyme it hapneth of meates or drynkes, beinge corrupted ere they be receyued. Somtyme where as well the ayre as the bodies of men be distempered.

pped. Also it hapneth sometyne by the wyathe of god, where he is offended or neglected in such ductie as belongeth vnto hym, as it hath ben perceyued often tymes in this citie, and declared by prophetes.

TYe haue answered ryght wel (sayd the Emperour) vnto my demande. But yet for as moch as I suppose, that ye cal them superfluouse humours, which are more than conueniente to the naturall proportion and temperature of the body, wherin they be, I pray you tell me if ye can, wherof cometh that superfluous abundaunce, and by what occasion do they become thicke and clammy, wherby the pores (as ye say) be stopped. Truly, sayde Frontine, as I haue hard of phisitions, and also dayely experience and reason declareth it, it procedeth of repletion and idelnesse, that is to saye, by eatinge immoderately aboue that whiche natural heate maye concocte in the stomake, also ingorgynge meate vpon meate, ere that meate whiche was fyrst eaten be fully digested, also by not vsynge competent exercise, wherby nature is comforted, and prepareth her selfe to labour about the concocting and digestynge of that which the body receyueth. Ye haue nowe satisfied me (sayde the Emperour) and well to the purpose. Nowe beholde, sayde he, Frontine honorable father, what a pernyciouse neglygence was in our predecessours Emperours, besides the il example of diuerse of them, which haue like il tutours, suffered the people of Rome theyr pupilles so many yeres, dayly to consume themselves by licence in luyng, whiche hath brought in to the citie suche horrible sickenesse, whiche I wyl prouide to expell thence if it be possible.

The nexte daye folowynge he assembled his counsaile,

sayle, whiche as I sayde befoze was of fyfty reuerend personages, to whom he declared the communication betwene hym and Frontine, who at that tyme was presente, beinge one of the counsaylours, assymyng that he was fully determyned, as wel to prourde for them, whiche eyther were attached with the sayde horryble sykenesses, and for those whiche were by warres for the weale publike mutulate in theyr membyres, or maimed, as also to put cleane awaye, or at the lesse waye to minyche the originall occasyons of the sayde sykenesses. Whiche noble entrepryse beinge of al them that herde hym, commended: synally it was thought expedient by the noble Emperour, and by all his sayd counsayle approued, that within the citie of Rome there shulde be two fayre and large hospytalles builded, to receyue and kepe theym, whiche were soo mutulate or maimed in the warres, that they coulde not exerceyse theym selues in manuell occupation (for all other labours were done by captiues, bondemen, and slaues, and the Romaines were therof discharged) Also without the citie in some village nygh to it, wherby passed some ryuer, shulde also be edified two other hospitalles ample and necessary for fyue hundred sick persons, vnto whom shuld be appoynted fyue phisitions, substantially lerned in phisike, and well experienced. Also fyue expert surgeons, with two apoticaries, men of good credence and trust, whiche shulde be bounden to haue alway al necessary drouges, vigozous in their force and vertue, without sophistication or other decepte in symples or compoundes. Also that they shuld burne or bitterly reiect all thynges, whiche were eyther corrupted, or so dyed, that it shulde seme to the phisitions

tions(who shuld as oft as they list examin the wares)
to be noyous, or to medicine vnprofytable. The meate
whiche was ordeyned for these sicke persones, shulde
be so lyttell in quantitie, that it was lesse than suffy-
cent for any hole person. And whan it was asked of the
Emperour, why he wolde that they shulde haue so lit-
tell a pytaunce, he answered merly, that he dyd it for
thre speciall consyderations. The fyrste was, that he
had red in the booke of Galene, the most excellent phi-
sition, that the moze one nourished bodie, vncleane,
and not sufficientely pourged, the moze he dyd hurte
them. Also if the meate were moze than the sycke men
coude eate, the ministers about them wolde selle that
whiche was lefte, and whan they had gathered therby
moche money, epyther they wold lyeue therwith riotous-
ly, and neglecte theyr dueties in attendynge the sicke
folke, or elles with that gayne prouyde for them selues
some moze welthy and easy lyuynge, so that in conclu-
sion, the sycke people shuld be destitute of conuenient
ministers to awaite on them. The thynde consydera-
tion was, that if the syckemen hadde abundaunce of
good meate, many of them rememoynge, that whan
they were hole, they shulde be constrained to some oc-
cupation, and that they shulde not than eate so moche
meate and so good, as they eate in the hospital, where
they laye well and at reste. wherfore perchance whan
they were hole, they wolde fynde the meanes to fal est-
sones in theyr sayde sykkenes or other lyke, that they
moughte be brough agayne to the hospitall. Suche
myscrable nature remaineth in some men, that to lyue
idelly and voluptuousely, they wyl chose rather to be
sicke, than to be healed.

¶

These

These allegations of the wyse emperour was than confirmed, by dyuerse whiche had knowen it by long experience. Concernynge them whiche were mutulate or maymed in warrres for the weale publik, they shuld haue a moze plentious entertainment, if he were in pouertie or lacked frendes. But they whiche were not in that necessitie, shulde haue appoynted by the Senate and the Emperours consente, an honeste proportion in corne and wyne, to spend in theyr owne houses, as a thankfull remembrance of the Senate and people for theyr good endeouour whyles they were able.

Whoecouer to prouyde for tyme to come, that is to saye, that the causes before remembred, whereof the sayde horrible sickenelles proceded, he affirmed, that the beste and moste sure meane, was to pacifye the ire of god, and to make hym beneuolent vnto the people, whiche shulde be moste assuredly done, by excludinge horrible vices and abominations out of the cite, and to honour god purely. As for the disposition of mennes bodies, made apte by surfettes and idelnesse to receyue corruption, and consequently horrible sickenelles, he determynd to make an Edict or imperyll ordinance, confirmed by an acte of the Senate, that no man shuld vse mo than two meales in one day, and that there shoulde be at the leaste. vi. houres betwene euery meale. Also that the Censores or correctours of maners, shulde take diligent hede, that if they founde or were informed, that any manne of the comminalltye wente to his meale, before he had wrought sufficiently in some occupation, that the same Censores shoulde cause hym to be apprehended and kepte in some prison, by the space of thre dayes, haungge but ones in
the

the daye onely, one ounce of bꝛeade, and a lyttell water, without any other nourishment: the Emperour here rehersynge a pꝛouerbe, wherof he had herde part of the chꝛysten men: Let hym eate that labourerh, for he,, that labourerh not, is not worth that thyng that he eateth.,, And suche as moughte not be withdꝛawen from ydelnesse, he wolde haue them sent into Spayne, to digge for gold: or into the iles called Cassiterides, to labour in tyne woꝝkes. And if within a whyle they laboured well without cohercion or grutchynge, those shulde be reuoked into the citie, there to apply diligently theyꝝ occupation.

¶ He wolde also that the common people shoulde not haue at one meale, but one kinde of fleshe or fysh, and that shulde not be eyther delycate, or in great quantitie. And if any man were founde doinge other wise, he shulde forsayte to the common treasozꝝ double the value of the meate whiche he had for that meale pꝛouyded. And that no gentylman shuld haue mo than thꝛe sundꝝ dyshes at oone meale, besydes fruite: noꝝ any senatour aboue. iiii. diuerse dishes, and one kynde of fruite if he lyst. Whiche number he hym selfe dyd not excede, although no lawe dyd therto compell hym. He wolde not that any citizen shuld resoꝝt to open tauerne, but that euery man shoulde haue his pꝛouision in his owne house. And that tauernes and common Cookes shuld serue onely for them, whiche dwelled out of the citie, and came thither for some necessarꝝe busynesse. And if any citezen were founde in tauerne, catynge or dꝛynkynge, he shulde be sente for to the Censozꝝes, and be sharpely rebuked, at the seconde tyme, excluded out of all assemblies, and noted euer after as a man out of

credence or possibilitie to any preferment. At the thyrde tyme he shulde be sent to the mynes, and there remain, vntyll he seemed to haue amended his maners. A gentylman shulde be at the fyrste tyme rebuked, at the second tyme, lose the name of a gentylman, and be reckoned amonge the base people. the thyrde tyme his goodes shulde be commytted to a tutour, wherof he shuld haue no portyon, vntyll it were well perceyued that he had vtterly lefte resoptynge to tauernes. A Senatour beinge founde in suche places, shuld incontinent be discharged out of the Senate, beinge durynge his lyfe without hope to be therto restored.

Whan the emperour Alexander had concluded these thynges with his owne counsaylours, he soone after came into the senate, and there recited in an eloquent and sobry oration, the sayde articles, declarynge what feruent desyre he had to saue the people of Rome, not onely agaynst outward hostilitie, but also agaynst inward perylls and consumption of their bodyes by horrible syckenesses, whiche oration fynished, all the senate with teares in their eyes for gladnesse, in the name of them selues and the people, rendred most hartly thanks to the emperours maiestie. And forthwith without any exception or myslikynge of any one thing, they confirmed it by an act of the senate. And the next day the Tribunes assembled the people, and declared to them all that preceded: which they so ioyously herd and receyued, that they ratified it with their common consentes with these acclamations. Noble Alexander we pray the goddis, that they haue no lasse care of your maiestie than ye haue for vs. Most happy be we that we haue you amonge vs. Noble Alexander, the
goddis

goddis p̄serue you, the goddis defende you, p̄ocde forth in your purpose. We oughte to loue you as our father, to honour you as our lord, to m̄tiaple at you as a god here lyving among vs. Therto they added: Noble Emperour, take what ye wyll of our treasure and substance, to accomplishe your purpose.

¶ The emperour heryng of this lyberal offer, caused to be answered in his behalfe, by frontine his p̄etor, The emperour thanketh you, but nothyng wyll he charge you with, touchyng the buydyng and furnyschyng of the sayde.iiii.hospytalles, for he wyll doo it of his owne treasure: only two thynges he requirerh of you, whiche shall not be burdeynous to you.

Fyrst that ye ceasse not to pursue and obeye continually all the sayde statutes and ordynaunces. The seconde, that ye wyll be content, that suche common reuenues, whiche seeme to hym vayne employed and agaynst the weale publyke, maye without any grutchyng of your parte be layde to the mayntenance of the said hospitals. Therat al the people esiones with one voyce cryed: Do noble emperour what shall seme to you good. For your most blessid nature can not erre or do amysse any thyng that ye purpose. Hecreat themperour reioycing, and remembryng that longe tyme befoze, he thought that the playes callyd Florales and Lupercales, and the abhomynable ceremonies of Isis (in the which were shewed by men and women naked, moste abhomynable motions and tokens of lecherpe) were p̄uokers and nourysers of beastely vice: he therfoze by the cōsent of the senate, abolyshed the said playes and ceremonies. And the reuenues, which belonged to the mayntenance of them being very great,

¶ iii he

he appoynted to lay them vnto the sayde hospitalles, with some part of his owne possessions, which he had purchased. Fynally the sayd foure hospitalles within the space of one yere were buylded on the ryuer of Tyber in the moſte ample and magnifike facion: ſo that all the chambers of the ſyck people were ſo made, that the floozes of them were .x. fete aboue the ground, and diſtant one from an other .xx. feete, euery chamber hauyng his bayne, and freſhe water conuayed into euery one of them by a cundyte, their places of eaſement ouer the ryuer, the wyndowes lyeng north & northweſt, the floozes of great thyeck plankes cloſe ioyned, in the nether ſtoyy were the ſellers, larders, wardropes, and ſuche other offyces. At the ſouth ſyde were lyke many chambers, the wyndowes opened towarde the north, the kythyns and lodgynges of offycers & minyſters, whych ſhulde ſerue the ſycke men were at the weſte ende. At the eaſt ende hauyng a proſpect into the north was the wate houſes, which ſerued for medicines, to theym were ioyned the lodgynges of the apoticaries, phyſitions and ſurgeons, and they were ryghte fayre & honeſtly furnyſhed. Of no laſſe magnificence were the two hospitals in the cite, but rather moze coſtely, wherby the beaultie of Rome was moche augmented. Theſe thynges being ſtablyſhed, the ſenate toke on them the gouernance of them, appoyntyng euery yere by lotte ten ſenatours to be therof ſurueyours and controllers of all the offycers and other minyſters. And the ſame ſenatours at the ende of theyr yere to make accompt openly to the Tribunes and people, of the imployment of euery parcell of the ſayde reuenues. And yf any were founde in arrerage, he ſhulde be compelled

led immediately to pay to the treasoꝝ of the sayd ho-
spytals foure tymes as moch as the arretra ge amou-
ted to. fynnally so moche commoditie hapned vnto the
citie of Rome by the sayde hospitalles and other ordi-
naunces befoze rehersed, that within very fewe yeres
after, no fowle syckenes was perceiued to be in the ci-
tie noꝝ ydell person, by occasion wherof a great parte
of the chambers in the sayde hospitalles were vacant
and moche of the reuenues were saued: whiche being
brought to the common treasoꝝ, afterward eased the
people of taxes in tyme of warre, to their no lytle com-
foꝛt and quietnes.

In some kindꝝ wyse Alexander excerpced his owne
person, so that he was neuer inprof-
fably occupied. Ca. xxiii.



THE MYNDE of this noble emperour
was so feruently set and determyned, to
the good gouernance and aduancement
of the weale publyke, and the conserua-
tion of the same, that in eyght the fyfste
yeres of his empire, whiche was the mooste parte of
his reigne, in as moche as he raygned but. xiii. yeres
and. ix. dayes, he dyd almoste none other thyng, but
contynually sꝛ with his counsaillours, whiche were
neuer fewer than fyfty men excellent in lernynge and
bertue, traictynge and deupsynge thynges expedient
foꝛ the weale publyke. And by the example of Augu-
stus the emperour, he reported to the hole senate ones
in a moneth, suche thynges wherbypon they were con-
cluded, with the pꝛincipall reasons whiche therto in-
duced them, whiche if the moꝝe part of the senate sem-
blably

blably liked, than were the pꝛouisions oꝝ oꝝdinãces deuised, by their sentence appꝛoued, & incontinently enacted and published. And to the intent he wolde not haue his labours & the authoritie of the senate frustrate by the lacke of execution (Not withstanding that he had many espialles as I sayd befoze, to awaite the defaultes of officers) he vsed many tymes to dysguise himselfe in diuers strange facions, as somtyme in the habite of a scholer of philosophye, comen out of Grece, and speakyng nothing but Greke, which he dyd most exquisitely. oftentymes lyke a marchant, come out of Siria, oꝝ Persia, whiche had than but one language, and that spake themperour naturally, foꝝ as moch as he was boꝛne in Siria. And hauinge with him one oꝝ two men of that countrey, which he dyd counterfaite, he lyke a scholer oꝝ seruant wolde one day haunte one parte of the citie, an other day an nother parte: And most politikelý fynd occasion to se the state of the people, with the industry oꝝ negligence of them that were officers, whiche pꝛogresse he wolde neuer dyscouer to any man, but only to Alþian, oꝝ one oꝝ two mo of his most secrete counsailours oꝝ seruantes, neither befoze that he began it, noꝝ after, and to them that accompanied hym, he commaunded, that they shoulde kepe it euer secrete, as they wolde auoyde his moste greuous displeasure. And in dede durynge his lyfe, it was by them neuer dyscouered. But somtyme he coulde not so escape bꝛnknowen, but that he was somtyme perceyued. but dꝛeadyng his seueritie, they that met with hym, and knewe hym, darste not salute hym, oꝝ make any sygne of knowledgẽ vnto hym. But whan that they had dysclofed it, all they that herde it, examyned their

they owne actes, and al they, which at that tyme had done any thyng worthy to be repproued, liued in dreade lokyng to be therfore corrected, or at the leest wayes blamed. Cōtrarywyse, they which had done any thing worthy cōmendatton, toke meruaylous comfort, doubtyng not, but that their good actes shulde cyther with benefytte or with the emperours prayses, be shortly rewarded, wherunto soone after was added to profite cyther in some office, or in other yerely reuenues.

¶ After that he had reduced the citie to this honorable state, he than by the aduise of his most discrete cōsailours, ones or twyse in the weeke, vsed to solace out of the citie, with a great company with hym of honorable personages. for he neuer shewed hym self openly as Emperour, but with a greate and honourable presence, aboue any other kyng of the worlde, albeit than he expessed a meruaylous familiaritie to all men indifferently, that lyst to appoche hym, without repulse to any man being in honest besture, and not dyscased with infectiue syckenesse. In this solasyng he hunted the harte, the wylde boze, or suche as be callyd Alces, brought for the nones out of the great woddes of Germany, whych be in quantitie higher and longer than any ore. He hūted also oftentymes the beare, but that neuer sayng only whan he was in the partes where they were bredde, saying, that forasmoche as the beare was of his nature a deuourer of cattel, he desyred not to haue of that kynde in those places where cattell is nourished. In huntynge these beastes he sometyme on horsebacke proued his strength, sometymes shotynge, otherwhyles castynge at them lauelyns, whiche serued for that purpose. Oftentymes he onely behelde other

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ponge

ponge gentylmen huntynge, whyche he deuyned into sundry companies, and appoynted to theyn a numbze certayne of arowes oꝝ iauelyngs, to the intent that one shuld not be moze exercised, oꝝ take moze solace in huntynge than an other. The lyons, lybardes, tygres, panthers, and other lyke straunge and furpous beastes, he had in great numbzes, whiche were kepte onely to thintent that at certayne tymes in the Amphitheatre, & other lyke places in the citie ordeyned to the purpose, the people mought take plesure in beholdynge them, & also scyng som such desperate persons, as wold aucture their lyues, fyght with some of the sayd beastes, oꝝ one beast to fyght with an other. But neuer wolde he lette any gentylman Romaine to do any suche batayl, sayeng, that he esteemed none so lytel, that he wold put hym in daunger foꝝ suche a beast, whose body beynge deade, was nothynge profytable.

He toke also pleasure to hunte the falo we dere, the too, & the hare with greyhoundes, inforcyng his hoꝝse (wherem he moche delyted) to gyue as many tournes to the game that he hunted, as the greyhoundes shuld do. And in that pastyme haupng to euerp beast of venery but two dogges at the moste, he contended with many other ponge gentyl men on hoꝝsebacke, whiche were by hym selfe onely appoynted, to shew hym selfe mooste delyuer and redye to incountre and checke the game at the moste aduauntage, wherin was a ryght pleasant and also profytable exercyse, shewynge a bysage oꝝ representation of a skymyshe in warres, specially whan he hunted the hart, and the bestes named Alces. Foꝝ thanne there required to be shewed moche strength and hardynes, and in the pursuite labour & peyn-

peynfulnes. And in this solace he vsed moche prudence. For they whiche one day hunted with hym, shulde not hunt the next day, but behold other hūtyng, and mark diligently the lacke of theym that hunted in to moche haste or slownes, to thintent that they mought refrain such default. And they that dyd best were praysed. And by hym that was the prouost of hunting, it was registered in the emperours presence, howe many tymes euery man was commended, to the intent that as roumes of capytayns and petite capitaynes were boyde in any of the emperours garrisons, they which in the sayde huntynge were iudged mooste actife, yf other good maners were in them founden accoꝝdyng, shuld be preferred to suche roumes after theyꝝ merites. But alway this good emperour had a vigilant respecte to the fourme of their lyuynge, and aduanced no man todaynly, but with longe delyberation and good aduysment.

¶ Noꝝeouer not withstanding his huntynge or other recreation, he neuer wolde let any day passe, withoute eyther consultyng some thyng for the weale publyke, or gyuyng some true sentence in iugement, or redyng som place in good authoꝝs, to augment his wysedom, or wyptyng some stoyꝝ or other thyng woꝝthy remembraunce, he was suche a nygard of tyme, that he was meruaylously greued, yf he spente any daye in solace without doinge of any of those thynges that I haue reherced. Not withstandyng that in the meane tyme, all the affaires of the empire were treated and oꝝdꝝed by men assured good and faythfull, whome he knewe wel wolde not be corrupted. And whan nede required, he herd matters befoꝝe it was day, and pꝝolonged the

tyme vntyl it were late & within nyght. And not with
 standyng he neuer shewed countenance of werynes, ne
 to be in any parte frowarde or angry: but had alwaye
 one maner of visage, and in all thynges seemed merye
 and pleasant. Undoutedly he was of an excellent pru-
 dence, as in whom no man could fynde any lacke, and
 of so redy a wytte, that if any man merily wolde taste
 hym with a pety taunt, he shuld shortly perceyue that
 he vnderstode hym. After the comune affaires as well
 ciuile as marciall, he gaue the moze parte of his study
 to the readyng of greke authoꝝ, redyng the boke of
 Plato of a publyke weale. And whan he wolde reade
 any latin boke, he rad specially the boke of Culli, of
 a publyke weale, and also his offices. Sometymes he
 radde oratours and poetes: amonge whom was Se-
 renus Ammonicus, whome he knewe and fauoured,
 and also Horace. He radde moche the lyfe of the great
 Alexander, whom specially he folowed, not withstan-
 dyng he abhorred his drunkennes and crueltie. All be
 it the one & the other is defended and excused by some
 good authoꝝ: whome oftentymes the emperour mo-
 che beleued. After his studye he applyed hym selfe to
 wastlyng, runnyng or thowlyng of the balle mode-
 rately. After his exercyse he hauyng his body anoynt-
 ed with pꝛecious and holsom oyntementes (as it was
 at that tyme the vse) entred into a bayne or stewe not
 hotte, where he taried sommetyme by the space of one
 houre, not onely to washe hym, but also to exercise him
 selfe in swymmyng. And whan he was come out of the
 bayne, he wold eate a good quantitie of mylk, lopped
 with fyne manchet, and a few egges, and therto wold
 he drynke methe, and takyng this foꝝ his bꝛeakefaste,
 so

somtyme he wolde dyne also: And oftentymes he absteyned vntyll supper. Alway at after none he applyed the tyme to sygninge and readyng of letters and bylles, they whiche were called remembrauncers, standinge about hym. and if by the reason of sickenesse or age it were payneful for them to stand, he caused them to syt downe, haupng the secretaries or clerkes readdyng the sayde letters or bylles vnto theym. Alwaye the emperour haupng a penne with his owne hande added to, that whiche was necessarpe, but that dyd he by the aduyse or sentence that seemed beste or most conuenient. whan he had perused al these thynges, al his frendes were let in to gyther, & who that lyst mought frely and boldly speake than vnto hym, and he merily and comforytably gaue eare vnto them. albeit he wold not here alone any man, but onely his great mapster, or Alpian the lawyer, and such as were associate with hym in some speciall cause of Iustice, but yet he neuer talked w any of them, but that he caused Alpian also to be present. In this foyme this noble emperour passed his tyme, enterlacing therewith other maner of solace.

Howe the Emperour Alexander, at the requeste of his mother Mamaea, sente for the moste excellent clerke Origen: and of diuerse notable sentences spoken by the same emperour concernyng the recepyng of the chrysten faith. Capi. ppv.



AT THIS TIME there was in the ci^{ty} Euco^{le} of Alexandria in Egypte a man excellent in all maner of lernynge, and therewith wonderfull eloquente in the grecke tonge, whose name was Adamantius Origenes: in so moch as whan

¶ iii

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he was but of the age of. xviij. yeres, he was in all the liberall sciences and in philosophye lerned exactly aboue all mennes estimation, he was sonne of one Leonidas, who for the chrysten fayth was beheaded. Also this Origene was chrystened, and from his tender age most perfectly brought vp in the rules of that religion, whiche he alway moste exactly obserued, as wel in all kyndes of abstinence, as in example of humilitie, and contempte of thynges worldelyc. He was for his great lernynge and seueritie of lyfe, appoynted by the byshoppe of chrysten men in Alexandria to preache and expounde the bokes, which they called the Bible: by occasion wherof he drew a great number of people dayly to the sayde chrysten faythe: whiche althoughe the emperour Alexander knewe, after that he dyd perceyue, that they were exquisite folowers of vertue, & peace, he wolde not suffer that any of them shulde be apprehended or punished: but had them in great admiration and reuerence.

The fame of this great clerke Origene came to the eares of Hammea the Emperours mother, who (as some menne supposed) was al redy perswaded to imbrace that profession. wherfore to be the more perfectly instructed therein, she moste affectionately couayted the presence of the sayde Origene. And therfore she awaytyng oportunitie, came to the emperour her sonne and despyed hym, that he wolde sende for the sayde Origene, whose famous lernynge was onely by report knowen vnto hym. To the whiche request he easelye graunted. And he hym selfe indited letters to be directed to Alexander than being the bishop of chrysten men in Alexandria, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth.

Alex=

Alexander Emperour Augustus. Ac. to Alexander the chiefe byshoppe of Chyrtianes in the great cite of Alexandria, well to doo. The fame of the vertue and wonderfull lernynge of Adamantius Digenes, your great philosopher, soundeth continually in our eares, whiche maketh vs desyrouse to beholde and here him, whose name contendeth in honozable renoume with our imperiall maiestie. We notwithstanding not enuyng his glozy, but couartyng to be partetakers of his inspired lernynge, and folowers of his vertue, do require you, to lycence hym to come vnto vs to Rome at his leysour without festination or trauayle. We haue wytten to our prouoste of Egypte, that he prouide for hym all thynge expedient for his iourneye toward vs. Fare ye well.

After that the byshoppe had receyued these letters, he moche reioysynge therate, sente for Digenes. But with great difficulty mought he perswade him to take that iourneye, he allegynge by dyuerse argumentes, that it shulde be moze necessary, that he continued his preachynge and lessons, where a greate parte of the people were all redy informed in the chyrstian faythe, and dayly increased, and waxed desirouse of the interpretation of diuine misteries, than goinge to the cite of Rome, where abounded al vice, pryde and tyranny, there to solwe precious sedes, as it were in the sand, or to gyue orient perles to swyne. Yet synally whan the byshoppe and other sage personages had credyibly informed hym of the moste excellent vertues of the Emperour Alexander, and in what soyte he had reformed the state of the cite of Rome, he condescended to god thpyther, whiche beinge intimate vnto the Prouoste of Egypte

The letters of Alexander the Emperour.

Ενταυτα

Egypte, he accordynge to the Emperours commaundement, prouyded for hym a chyppe with all thynges necessary vnto his iourneye. And bycause he behelde hym simply apparayled, he ordeyned for hym sundry garmentes in the moste honest sort that philosophers than vsed: but Dygene wolde not receyue any parte therof, not so moch as hosen or shoues, but lyke as he alwaye accustomed to go from his chyldehode (that is to saye, in a syngle garmente of clothe and barefoted) so went he to Rome. And whan at his arriuaile there were brought vnto hym a mule and a chariote, to ride in the whiche he beste lyked, he answered, that he was moche lasse than his maister Chryste, whiche rode but one daye in his lyfe, and that was on a sely asse mare. Wherfore he wold not ryde, except he were sycke or decrepite: so that his leggis mought not serue him to go.

The Emperour and his mother heyringe of the comynge of Dygene, caused hym to be brought in their pcesence, where he accordyng to his ducty ryght humbly saluted the emperour knelynge, but the emperour with mooste gentylle countenaunce embraced hym, and inforced hym to stande on his feete. Seimblablye the emperours mother deuoutely saluted hym, reioysynge moche of his pcesence.

And whan the emperour had beholden his natyue grauitie, and most assured countenance, he in his hart iudged hym to be a reuerend personage. Then demanded he of hym, what thyng he professed. He answered, Veritie. The emperour asked of hym, what he mente thereby. He sayde, It was the worde of the luyngge god, whyche was infallyble. The Emperour asked, which was the luyngge god, and why he so called hym.

Dy-

Origene answered, That he dyd put that distinction for a difference from them, whome men beinge longe dyd in errour dyd calle their goddis, whome they confesse to be ones mortall, and to haue dyed. but the god, whom he preached, was euer lyuynge, and neuer dyed, and is the lyfe of all thynges that be, lyke as he was the creatoꝝ of them.

¶ And whan the emperour had required hym to declare the vnitie of God the creatour, he deuoutly lysteri-
tyng by his eyes, after a shorȝt meditation, with an incomparable and mooste compendious eloquence, he forthwith opened that mystery in suche wyse, that as wel to the emperour and his mother, as to all other standyng about theym (of whom I Eucolpius mooste happily was one) it seemed that we were brought oute of a longe slepe, and than dyd we se thynges as they were in dede, and that whiche befoze we esteemed and honoured were but vaine dreames and imaginations. Yet the emperour after a lyttell pause, sayde vnto Origene, that he moch meruayled, why men of such wonderfull knowlege, shulde honour for God, a man that was crucified: being but of a pooze estate and condition. A noble Emperour, sayd Origene, Consyder what honour at this present tyme the wyse Athenienses yet do to the name and image of Codrus, their last kyng of Athenes, for as moche as at the tyme that warre was made by the two people called Deloponenses and Dozienses, agaynst the Athenienses, answere was made to them, whiche counsayled with Apollo at Delphos, that the Deloponenses and Dozienses, yf they slewe not the kyng of Athenes, they shulde haue the victoꝝ: wherof Codrus heryng, preferrynge the
safe-

safegarde of his people before his owne lyfe, toke on
 hym the garmentes of a slaue, and beartyng on his
 shulder a burdeyn of styckes, he wente to the hoste of
 the ennemies, and there of a purpose quarell yng with
 some of them, and in the pzease hurtyng one with his
 knyfe, he was by hym, which was hurt, strikē througħ
 the body and slayne: by occasion wherof, after that it
 was perceyued and knowen of the ennemyes, they be-
 inge confused, raysed theyr campe and departed. And
 for this cause the Atheniensis, haue euer sens had the
 name of Codrus in reuerence, and as all men do thinke
 woorthily and not without reason. Nowe than consy-
 der most excellent prynce, howe moche moze woorthy,
 with what greater reason and bounden duetie ought
 we and all men to honour Chryste, being the sonne of
 god, and god, who not only to pzeferue mankynd from
 daunger of the deuyll, his auncient ennemye, but also
 to deliuer man out of his dark and stynkyng don-
 geon of errour, beinge sente by god the father frome
 the hyghest heuens, wyllingly toke on hym the seruile
 garment of a mortall body, and hydyng his maiesty,
 lyed vnder the bysage of pouertie, and finally not of
 his ennemyes immediately, but moche moze agaynste
 reason, of his owne chosen people the Jewes, vnto
 whome he had extended benefites innumerable, and
 after his tempozall natiuitie were his naturall people
 and subiectes, he quarell yng with them, by declaryng
 vnto them their abuses, and prycking them with con-
 dygne rebukes, at the last he was not slayne with soo
 easie a death as Codrus was, but in most cruel facion
 was scourged vntyll no place in his bodye was with-
 out woundes, and than had a crowne of long & sharpe
 thornes

thornes set and pressed on his heed, and after long tormentes and despytes, he was constrained to beare an heuy crosse, wheron afterwarde his both handes and feete were nayled with longe and greatte nayles of yron, and the crosse with his naked and bluddye body being lyfte vp on heyght, it was let falle with violence into a moztayse, that all his ioyntes were dissolved. And not withstanding all this tourment and ingratitude, he neuer grudged, but lyftynge vp his eyes vnto heuen, he prayed with a loude voyce, sayinge: Father forgyue them, for they knowe not what they do. This was the charitie moste incōparable of the sonne of God, employed for the redemption of mankynde, who by the transgression of Adam the fyrste man that euer was created, was takē prisoner by the deuyl, that is to say, kept in the bondage of errour & synne, from the actuall vision of goddis maiesty, vntyl he were in this wyse redeemed, accoꝝdunge as it was ordeyned at the begynnynge.

At these wordes of Origene all they that were present were wonderfully astonyed, and therewith the emperour with a sturdy countenance said vnto Origene: Ye haue wonderfully set forth a lamentable hystoꝝpe, but yet notwithstanding therein be thynges dark and ambiguous, whiche do require a moze playne declaration. For what maketh you bolde to asseyrme, that Iesus, whych in this wyse was crucifyed, was the sonne of god & god, as ye haue called hym? Syr sayd Origene, sufficient testimony, whiche of all creatures reasonable ought to be beleued, and for the moste certayne pꝛofe to be allowed. What testimony is that said the Emperour: Truly, sayd Origene, it is in dyuers things.

D.ii.

thynges. ffirst the promyse of god, by whom all this worlde was made. Also by his holy spirite speakynge by the mouthes of prophetes, as welle Hebrewes as Grekes and other whom ye call Vates and Sybillas.

Howe many were at the ascentis of Chyriste.

Thyrdely by the natiuite of Iesus of a pure virgyne without carnall company of man, the mooste pure and cleane founteine of his luyngge without synne, his doctrine dyuine and celestiall, his myracles mooste wonderfull and innumerable, all grounded on charitie only without ostentation, his vndoubtfull and perfecte resurrection, the thyrd day after that he was putte to death, his gloziouse ascention by vnto heauen in the presence and syght of fyue hundred persones, whiche were vertuous and of good credence. Also the gyfte of the holy gooste, in speakyng all maner of langages and interpyetyng scripture, not only by hym selfe, but also afterwarde by his apostles & disciples, & giuen to other by imposition of their handes. And al these thynges ordinarily folowed accordyng vnto the said promyses & prophecies. I omit to speake of the confession of dyuels, which by Iesus and his apostles in his name were cast out of people, which were oblessed. The oracles & answeres of them, whom ye vntuly cal goddis, do remayne in confirmyng this testimony. And whan Origene had sayde all this, he forthwith began there, and disclosed the aunsweres of Apollo made at Delphos, affirmyng Iesus to be God. afterwarde he recyted and declared the prophecies as welle of the Hebrewes as of the Sybilles and other. Last the promyse of god vnto the Patriarkes, by the whiche it manifestly appere, that Iesus was Chyriste and god, & that by his tempoꝛall natiuite he was kynge of Israell,
and

and that the Jewes were his natural subiectes. Whiche declaration of Origene was so euident and playn, and set forth with suche wonderfull eloquence, deuotion, and lerning, that it perswaded the emperour and dyuers other, whiche than were present, wherof I Eucolpius was one, to imbrace the profession of Christis faith and doctrine, for the which I gyue most humble thanks vnto god, by whose only grace I was called. And for that tyme the emperour gaue lycence to Origene to retourne vnto Alexandria: for as moch as he darste not attempte to publyshe the christen faythe by his auctozitie, the persecution of chrysten men beinge but late cessed, and they beinge yet odiousse to the Senate and people. Not withstandinge in his pryuy closette he had the images of Christ, of Abraham and of Moyses, and beinge by hym selfe he honoured oone god, as I my selfe being often tymes secrete with him dyd well perceyue. And at the laste he made request to the Senate, that there moughte be made a temple to Chryste, wherwith they all were soze greued, and dyd obstinately denye it, sayinge that they had counsayled with the goddes, of whom they had aunswere, that if that were suffred, al men shulde be christianes, and al other temples shoulde be made desolate. wherfore he ceased his entrepryse, but alwaye he was studiouse in the bookes of Chrysten men, and often tymes vsed their sentences. As whan any man wente out of the hyghe waye, and wold passe throughe an other mans ground, breakyng his inclosure, and rydynge ouer his coyne or grasse, if he percepued it, he wolde cause hym to be beaten with stauces or rodde in his presence, after the qualitie of his trespase: or if he were a man of honour

Lamprid's

or woꝛthypp, he wolde gyue to hym great rebukes, and saye vnto hym, woldest thou haue that done vnto the, that thou doeste to a nother? And whan a man was punished for any suche trespacc, he wolde cause it to be openly proclaymed: That whiche to thy selfe thou woldest not haue done, do not in any wyse vnto an other. Also whan cookes of the cite claymed a certayne place, whiche chysten men had, and his pleasure was therin required, he wꝛate in his rescripte, that it were better that god were there honoured in any maner of fascion, thanne that cookes shoulde haue therof possession.

CEuclapius wryteth, that on a tyme he sayd to him, and to Philip his bondeman: I perceyue, ye do wonder at the letynge of Origene, wherby ye be induced to embrace the chystiane profession. Trewely the humilitie and charytic of the chysten people, whiche I haue herde of, and do dayly beholde, doo moche moze stee me to beleue, that they? Chyste is god, than the residue of all his perswasion.

And on a tyme whan two chysten men contended proudeley together, and they accused eche other of spekyng reprochfull wordes of the Emperour, he called them befoꝛe hym, and prohibited them to name the selfes chysten men, saying: your pryde and malyce do declare, that ye be not the folowers of hym whome ye profess. Wherfoꝛe thoughe ye fynde lacke in me, the whiche I wyll gladly amende, yet wyll I not lette you agaynste iustyce, reprove by your actes hym, whose lyfe and doctrine ye all doo affirme to be vncorrupted and without any lacke.

Whiche wordes being ones spꝛad amonge the chysten

sten men in the citie of Rome, it made them all afterwarde moze circumspecte, and in humilitie and charitie to be the moze constante.

Howe Mammae the Emperours mother exhorted hym to be married, and what wyse aunsweres he made, and synally took to wyfe the daughter of a noble & ancient senatour. Cap. xxxvi.



WHAN THE Emperour was come to the age of. xx. yeres, his mother Mammae exhorted hym to take to his wyfe some mayden of a noble and auncient house, to the intent that he mought haue generatiou, whiche shoulde be for the sure tranquillitie of the citie and empire, and to the pyncipall comfort of him, the Senate, and people of Rome. After that he hadde diligently herde his mother saye all that she wolde, he made to her an aunswere in fourme folowynge: I dare well saye madame, that ye haue gyuen to me this counsaile, of a sincere and naturall loue, that ye beare toward me your onely sonne. But for as moche as it is the mater, whiche within my selfe I haue moche moze debated than (I suppose) ye haue done, although perchaunce ye haue thoughte moze on it, I wyll declare vnto you, howe I finde in my fantasie, that the taking of a wyfe shuld be to the publyke weale and to my selfe moze daungerouse than fruitefull, speciall ye at this tyme. for where ye wyll me to take a mayden, if she shall be moche yonger than I am, perchaunce she shall not be so apte for generation of chyldeyn, stronge and lusty as if she were of my yeres. And I couapte not to deface the imperiall maiestie with chyldeyn weake and vnlusty. Also the sturdynesse of the Romaines maye
not

not susteyne to be gouerned, but of theym whiche as well in personage as wisdom be conuenient & seemely. If she shall be as olde, or elder than I am, thanne shal I byng my selfe to moch vnquietnesse and trouble of mynde. for ye knowe well, it is not yet passynge foure yeres agone, that the abhominable monster my kynsmanne Heliogabalus, lefte not onely the cite of Rome, but also all the countrey of Italy soo polluted with detestable lecherie, that with moche diffycultye mought one fynde an house, wherin had not ben committed summe kynde of that vice, eyther voluntary, or els by inforcement. wherefore if I shulde mary one of the sayde cite or territory, althoughe I founde her by fame and experience a mayden, yet shuld not that discharge my mynde of suspicion: thynkyng alway, that she was rather so kepte by restraynte of liberty, than by her owne chastitie, consyderynge that she dyd here or se dayly suche wanton allectiues and prouocations to lecherie, that the custome therof dydde assaulte the mynde so continually, that it were well nyghe impossible to escape vncorrupted, although the body by vigilant custodye abode vndefyled: And this suspicion shuld wrap my hart in suche melancholy, that I shuld seldome be mery or pleasant with hir, whō for my trust I coulde not loue perfectly. And to take a wyfe of any other countrey, ye knowe well it hath not bene the vse of Emperours, or other noble men of this cite, I suppose it hath ben for the warres, which hath & mought estones happen to be, betwene vs and these outward countreys. Wherefore yf the women therof shulde be married to the emperour and other of the nobilitie, and that soone after shuld happen hostilitie betwene them
and

and those countreyes, moche inconuenience moughte come to the citie and publyke weale by meanes of the women in fauourynge their patentes, the meanes I wyl not reherse, for offending of you and other ladies, and also sens you and all that are wyse, maye shortly coniecte what I meane. Finally I am determyned, not to alter that custome, whiche is bothe auncient and honourable. Moreover I can not be sure to haue generation whan I am married, and thanne the onely cause therof is vtterlye frustrate. And to me, whyche shall be alway in study and busynes aboute the weale publyke, the wyse remaineth; a tedious impediment & charge superfluous. Seblably shall I be vnto her an vnpleasant cumberhouse, syndyng lytell ydell tyme to be in hir company, and being fatigate with busynes about the weale publike, I shall be lesse diligent and pleasant with her, than she wold haue me, wherof mought procede not only cōtencion betwene vs, but also matter of warre occasion. And where ye seeme to affirme, that my generation shoulde be for the tranquillitie of this citie and empire, and for the comforte of me, the senate and people: Trewely whan I remember what daughters the moste noble Augustus had, whom for their corrupted lypynge, and for the grefes, whyche he therby susteined, he was wont to cal them his botches and boples. Whan I think what sonnes the reuerend Vaspasian, the wyse and most vertuous prince Marcus Antoninus, the honorable Scucrus left, for their successours in the empyre of Rome, whyche were all slayne for their detestable lypynge, Whowe lyttell care I for chylbern, ye how glad wold I be alwaye to lacke them? that my benefices which I intende to im-

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ployp

ploze on the weale publike, by the folpe oꝛ vice of my chyldzen be not consumed, men moze hating my name foꝛ that I haue begotten and leste vnto theym in the stede of a gouernour, a rybaulde oꝛ tyraunt foꝛ to succede me: than they wyl prayse me foꝛ myne owne charitie. What sozowe and peyne shall my soule suffre (yf there be any care amonge theym, whiche be passed out of this worlde) whan I shall beholde with immortall eyes, my chyld, whiche is of myn owne substance, to abandon that thyng, whych I loued, to embrace that whiche I hated, to be of the Senate abhorred, of the people detested, and of al fozeyne princes dysdained, and fynally of all honeste men persecuted lyke a serpent oꝛ monster, lyke a wolfe oꝛ a tygre, infamed foꝛ lechery, pursuyd foꝛ tyranny: What happye sterilitytie, wherby lacketh annoyauce. What hateful fertilitie, wherof commeth sycknes oꝛ pestylence. I am sure, that sterilitytie can no moze hurte me, but onely take frome me the name of a father, oꝛ the dotynge pleasure to se my lytell sonne ryde on a cokhorse, oꝛ to here hym chatter and speake lyke a wanton. And I am not sure that fertilitie shall byynge to me any moze quietnes, than I haue all redy. Foꝛ my chyld being of suche inclinacion, as best shall content me, if dethe take hym from me, than shall I languyshe in tourmentes incurable, consyde-ryng that I can not well susteyne the death of my seruantes. yf he lyue with me, and be eyther a foole, a rybauld oꝛ tyrant, than should I lyke Edippus scratch out myn eyes, rather than I wold behold suche a monster pceded of my body: ye rather flee hym with myne owne handis, than to let such one to succede me. Or if he escaped me, I wold as ke that onely reward of the senate & people

people, that they wolde sacryfyce hym on my tumb
whan I were buryed. Therfore mother I praye you
celle from exhortynge me vnto mariage, vntyll I be
thereto better dysposed, whyche shalbe, whan in behol-
dyng one, whiche perchance I haue not yet sene, some
affection, or I be ware, may in me, as it hath in other,
surmount bothe lernynge and wysedome.

With these wordes, the wyse lady shewynge her self
as she were content, departed vnto her lodgynge. But
it was not long after, that she bode the emperour vnto
a supper and banquet: And agaynst his comynge she
had assembled a great numbze of the fayrest maydens
in Rome, attendynge vpon their mothers, or on some
other ancient and sadde gentyll women, whome whan
the emperour beheld, he forthwith corrected the intent
of his mother. Notwithstanding he moste gentyllye
countenanced them all, and shewed hym content well
with their company, although it were not correspon-
det vnto his fantasie. But after that he had eaten and
drunke moze wyne than he was accustomed to do, be-
ing chaufed in body and spyrite, in castynge his eyes
hyther & thither, he at the last beheld an excellent faire
mayden named Hemiia, which was doughter of a
noble man called Sulpicius. And after that he hadde
deuysed with her, and founde her to be wyse, sobze, and
of syngular humilitie, he moche loued her, and at the
laste by the continual prouocation of his mother, and
consent of his counsaile, he afterwarde maryed her,
but she dyed shortly after, wherwith he toke no lyttell
dyscomforte, sayeng oftentymes: So greatte a trea-
sure as I haue loste, a man seldome fyndeth. Deathe
were gentyl, if he toke nothing but that that offedeth.

Eucolpius wyll not be knowen, that he had any moo wyues: but Lamyridius bseth the authozitie of one Desippus, who sayth, that Alexander had an nother wyfe, who was doughter of oone Martianus. But whan it was founde, that he wolde haue slayne the emperour by treason, he was put to deth, and his doughter separate frome the Emperour. Herodianus affirmeth, that all that was done by the inalyce of Hammea the emperours mother, without other cause, only bycause she coulde not susteyne hir sonnes wyfe to be called Augusta. and therfoze she caused her to be exyled into Affrica, and all the landes and goodes of her father, Hammea toke and conuerted vnto hir owne profite: whych repoyte I suppose not to be true, consydering that Hammea was so wyse and vertuouse a lady, and being wel instructed in Christis relygion, knew well how detestable vnto god is enuy & crueltie.

Of the seueritie that Alexander vsed, as well towarde them that were proude, as to them that were masaperte and dyd not theyr durtie. Cap. xxxvii.



IN A TYME he beinge Censor or correctour of maners with Julius Paulus & Callidius Rufus, and walkynge in the stretes of Rome with a fewe other disguised lyke communers, he hapned to meete with a senatours sonne, haupnge with hym a greatte trayne of ponge menne, whom he and they that were with hym saluted, doinge to hym reuerence: the pong man behelde theym disdaynfully, and with a proude countenaunce, without sayinge any thyng: and they whiche were with hym dyd also the semblable. wherfoze

foze the Emperour at his retorne home to his palayce incontinente dischargd the fader of the sayde yonge man out of the senate: sayinge, that he was not worthy nor meete to be of that reuerende company, whereby the weale publyke oughte to be gouerned, and the emperour hym selfe to be chiefly counsayled, sense he had so yll brought by his sonne, that not onely he himselfe lacked humanitie, and extended a moze statelly faction than perteyned to his degree, but also by his example caused theym that were with hym, to embrace pryde, which is captayne of vices, and chiefe confounder of all publike weales. Sone after he sente for the sayde yonge gentylmanne and his companions, and sharply rebuked them, saying, that pryde is the most horrible monster, and of al men so hated, that it is not had in detestation of good men onely, but also to them whiche be proude, they that be lesse proude be in deede of all other mooste odiousse. And as pryde sleeth loue, prouoketh dysdayne, kendleth malyce, confoundeth Iustyce, and subuerteth weales publyke, soo gentylnesse and affabilitie doo steepe by affection, augmente beneuolence, incende charitie, suppozte good equitie, and p̄serue mooste suerly countreyes and cities. And after that he had charged them to abandone and leaue the sayde vyce and other, and to imbrace vertue and gentyll maners, whereby they shulde acquire moze estimation than by highe countenance, and menacing them, that if the sayde faulte were esteemes spyed in them, he wolde not only exclude them from hope of al dignitie, but also from the name of nobilitie, and put them in the number of the base communiours, and so he let them departe.

This sharpe correction aualid many a proude hart so that by custom of gentilnesse, pride was so moch abhorred thzoughout the citie, that if any manne, perchaunce by a naturall habite oꝝ fascion, oꝝ vnadupledly and not of a purpose, seemed to theym that behelde hym, to haue a proude countenaunce, he was eyther laughed at, oꝝ disdaynefully wondꝝed at, soo that he was constrayned, had he neuer so sturdy a courage, to be a shamed. wherof pzoceded a pzouerbe: Slaues and bondemen haue only this libertie, to vse a proude countenaunce, bycause they be shamelesse: and noble men be knowen alwaye by theyꝝ gentylnesse.

It was not longe after that the emperour lokynge out at a wyndowe of his palayce, perceyued certayne gentyllmen exercisynge them selves in wꝝastlyng, runnyng, and leappyng, to whome came certayne communers of the base people, and without any sygne of reuerence, oꝝ askynge leaue, they myngled them selues with the gentylmen, and malapertly enterpyssed to contende with them in those recreations, with arrogante bostynges and wordes of presumption. And whan the gentylmen beinge therewith offended, bade them be contente with theyꝝ degree, and elles where to passe the tyme with theyꝝ companyons and equalles, the sayde communers takynge that in despyte, with countenaunce bragginge and sturdy, proudelye made answere, that euery of theym was better able to lyue, & had moze abundance to vse liberalitie, and to haunt pleasures, than the beste of the other. And if the emperours garde had not come the soner, the communers had faught with the gentylmen, and put them in danger, for they were mo in nombꝛe. This as it hapened
the

the Emperour beholdynge, he toke therwith a vehement displeasure, beinge therfoze so angry, as erst he was neuer. Wherfoze he caused the sayde communers to be kept in saufegarde, and straptely commaunded, that nothyng that was done shulde be reherfed, vntill he had further declared his pleasure. And forthewith he sente for the Prouoste and Tribunes, and required them to sende theyr mynisters to summe all the communers of Rome beinge men, to be the second daye folowinge in the Theatre of Pompey, where the emperour in his owne persone wolde also be presente, and declare to them thynges concernynge the mooste daungerous state of the weale publyke. The Emperours commaundement, accor dyngely was executed. And a haulte pase made at the ende of the Theatre, where the emperour shoulde sytte in his maiestie, and all the people shulde playnely beholde hym, and perfutely here hym. For the Theatre was a place made in the fourme of a bowe that hath a great venter. And in all the rounde parte were many benches one behynde an other and ouer an other (for it was narrowest beneeth, and vpperward grewe larger and larger) And there sate all the people. At the strayte ende, whiche was to the other parte as the stringe to the bowe were the seates of the Senatours, and behinde them of the gentlemen. At the tyme appoynted, the people beinge in the Theatre as they were commaunded, the Emperour came accompanied onely with the Prouoste and Tribunes, leaupinge all his garde at the gate of the Theatre. At his commynge all the people dydde ryse, and with mooste ioyouse acclamations, dyd salute hym: but he contrary to his olde custome, with a displeasaunte
coun-

countenaunce passed by them. wherat they were not a lyttel abashed, and with hartes ful of a louing dreade and constant silence, they prepared they: eares to here attentifely what the Emperoure wolde saye: who after that he had longe beholden the people, at the laste with a graue countenaunce full of maiestie, he spake vnto them as hereafter foloweth.

¶ The oration of the emperour Alexander to the people of Rome. Cap. p. viii.



Wote not how to begynne to speke vnto you, for we knowe not by what name we shall call you. for if ye were Senatours, we wold cal you fathcers: if ye were gentylmen, we wold call you frendes: yf ye were as ye shulde be, good comuners, we wold call you good people of Rome, as we were woute to doo. But sens election hath not made you senatours, nor nature gentylmen, nor your merites good comuners, we be in no lyttell doubt what we shall call you. for yf we shulde call you Romaynes, we feare lest Romulus, of whom proceded that name (if he be deified as ye do suppose) being therewith offended, wyl be aduenged as wel on vs as on you, for abusyng his glorious name on such peple, which goth about to dissolue this noble empire, destroy this citie, whiche he fyrste began with his moste excellent prowesse and wysedome, and that wars is (yf any thyng may be wats) extinct vtterlye the moste honourable and glorious fame of this citie and people thereof, whiche hath perced the clowdes, flownen ouer the hygh mountaynes, and passed the pe: ryllous sees & large ryuers, runne through the great desert:

desertes and wyldernesseg, and touched the further-
 moste boundes of the worlde. We wyl therfoze ompt
 to call you by any name, butyll we can fynde one mete
 and accorpyng vnto your merites. Perchance at our
 comyng, ye beholdyng our countenaunce towarde
 you moze straunge than it hath ben, thoughte that we
 were meued with some priuate dyspleasure, for some
 thyng touchyng our person, or that we were altered
 from our late temperance, vnto a tyranny, conceyning
 suspition of our nature, by the remembraunce of that
 monster our late predecessour, forasmuche as we bothe
 came of one lynage, whyche I denye not. Truly, yf
 this were your fantasy, we wyl soone acquite our selfe
 therof, and set all your myndes at a moze lybertie. We
 wyl say this moche vnto you, as touchyng our per-
 sone and family, no man with wordes hath offended
 vs, no man hath taken aught from vs, no man (that
 we knowe) hath gone about to betray vs, nor there is
 any other thyng priuately done to our incommoditie
 that hath displeased vs. And as for our accustomed
 maners, whiche dyd content you, we haue not, nor in-
 tend not to alter them. Tyranny, as we haue euer had
 it in extreme detestation, so do we nowe moste abhorre
 it. The corrupt nature of our predecessour had neuer
 place in vs. One gardeyn at one tyme byngeth forthe
 bothe popson and holsome medycine. We see one wo-
 man, whiche by one man hath many children, of them
 some be fayre and personable, some pille fauoured and
 croked, some be wyse and apt vnto doctrine, other be
 fooles and dull wytted, one is couragious and hardy,
 an other is a dastarde and coward, this chyld is gen-
 tyll and inclyned to vertue, the other is fierse & wyap-
 ped

ped in vices. This is not a rare thyng, but in dayly experience. If this dyuersitie happeneth to be in one gardeyn, and in the generation of one father and also one mother: than may we wel escape the cause of your suspicion, we & Helioabalus hauing dyuers fathers and dyuers mothers, and they as diuers in their conditions, as ye your selues can beare wytnesse, whiche haue knowen and sene proued the chaste lyuynge, sanctimony and prudence of our reuerend mother, and in what honesty and vertuous dyscipline she hath noursished vs, & brought vs vp, vnto the tyme that by god we were called vnto this dignitie. This oughte to be ynough, as wel to perswade you, that neyther anye thyng concernyng our selfe hath moued vs to displeasure towarde you, as also to exclude out of your myndes all suspicion of tyranny. Nowe shall ye know the very cause why we be discontented with you. For all though we sayd at the begynning, that ye went about to dissolue this empire, destroye this citie, and extincite the glorious fame therof, whiche in dede is the cause of our displeasure and heynnes, yet in those generall wordes, ye do not perceyue (I suppose) what we mean therby. Wherefore take good hede, and ye shall here it declared moze specially.

Romulus after that he had buylded this citie, he by his diuine reason consydered, and (as I doubt not) in the tyme of the buyldynge experience declared, that in a confuse multitude of people, they being of diuers wyttes and conditions, if order lacked, there mought not be a perpetual concoorde, but by contynuall variance and dyscoorde, the people of necessitie shoulde be compelled either to abandon the citie, and deuydlynge them

them selves to seeke for sundry places to dwelle in, or abyding there in contynual sedition, shuld shortly and easily be subdued or destroyed by their neyghbours dwelling about them. Wherfore he pssuyng of a gentyll and noble house, excelleng the resydue of the people in noble courage and fynesse of wyt, first deuysed and stablyshed this order, that the company, whiche he had assembled as well of theym, whiche he had brought with hym, as of those which he out of diuers partes had allured vnto hym, shulde generally be called Romaynes for euer: And that of theym shulde be thre states or degrees, euery one of them necessary for the weale publyke of his noble cite, in their sundry administrations, ducties, and exercises. To the fyrste state he chace out of the hole cōgregation one hundred of men auncient in yeres, which in moderation of luyng, sobrenes of maners, and sharpnes of wyt, were of the princypall personages of all that numbze, of theym he ordeyned and stablyshed a counsaile, wherby the affaires of the cite, and appendaunces therof shuld be ruled and minystred. And these counsaylozs for their age shulde be called Senatours, (for Senes in latyne are olde men) not withstandynge beinge saluted or spoken to, they shulde be named fathers. Also the college or company of theym was incorporate by the name of the senate. Moreover of this colledge, shulde be elected the great Judges and officers in the weale publyke, to whome shulde be committed the determination of Justyce, the execution of ceremonies and solenne sacrifices, and other authorities, whiche do belong vnto gouernance. Wherfore he wolde that in this state there shoulde be a maiestie, whiche of all

other men shulde be had in a syngular honour and reverence. Semblably lyke as this state was ordeyned for counsaile and gouernance, so elected he out of the residue, whiche were lusty in yeres, valyant and hardy, a greater numbꝛe, whome bycause in warres they shulde be on horsebacke, he callyd theym Equites, and the order he called Equestris, to them shoulde chiefly pertayne the defence of the citie agaynst the inuasion of ennemies, with other smal administrations, about the necessary prouisions and ornāments of this noble citie. And this state also wolde he haue honoured of the reste of the people, and to thintent that they shuld be knowen from other men, he assigned them to weare a ryng, and to beare in their handes iauelyns, wherof afterwarde they were called Quirites, whiche in the olde tynge of this countrey signified speare men. Of this state shulde be elected the Senatours, whan the iuste numbꝛe of the Senate decayde. The thyrde state was of the base people or communers, to whom scueally shuld not be comitted any authozitie, but shulde apply their occupations, and be redy to execute the statutes and ordynances made by the senate, also be obedient to the great officers, in that which pertayned vnto the weale publike: Moreouer whan warres required that they shulde go forth, than to be obedient and diligent at the commaundement of their capytaynes and leaders. This order being stablyshed by Romulus, as long as in euery degree it was duly obserued, howe meruaylously dydde this citie prosper, yee howe wonderfully dyd a fewe Romayns in regarde, not only defende this lytell territory, agaynst the great numbꝛe and puissance of dyuers and sundy people, confedered

dered agaynst theym, but also beate them backe vnto their owne howses, entred into their cities, despoyled them of theyr substance: & also compelled them not onely to desire perpetual peace, but mozeouer at the last to become theyr subiectes & tributaries? And whan this good order began to be broke, your state aspiring to gouernance & rule, where ye were ordeined to obey only: what yere can ye fynd clere from sedition and dyscorde amonge you? who can number the Romaynes, whiche haue ben slayne in the ciuile warres and commotions? who coulde without teares recite the dolorouse astate of this cite in the tyme of Cinna and Marius, whome for disdayne that ye had vnto the nobilitie, ye dyd eleuate vnto the highest dignities? By this your disorder came vnto the citie sundry calamities. Ye chafe Caligula to be your Emperour, and where mought there be found a moze horrible tyrant: in the whiche name he so moche delyted, that lokynge in a glasse he wolde moste diligently fourme his visage into the most terrible facion: Also in recompence of your kinde nesse, he wysshed that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he moughte stryke it of at one stroke. I am ashamed to reherce my predecessour and kynseman Heliogabalus, the detestable vessel of abhominacion. But ye ought to be moze ashamed, that ye setting a part so great a numbze of honorable personages, as were than in the senate, for theyr experiance wisdom and prowesse, worthy euery of them to be Emperours, chafe the sayde Heliogabalus, a stranger boyme, a boye in yeres, a foole in regarde of theyr wysdome, to be your soueraygne lord, who broughte you to the most vile subiection that any people were in the worlde? for

is there any thyng in mankynde so byle, as to be vnder the condition of brute beastes: what beast can ye name that wyll suffre in his p̄sence an other beast to occupie in the acte of generation her, whome he hath chosen for his make and companion: but to his power wyll resiste and fyght with hym. Heliogabalus helde you in suche captiuitie, that partely to auoyde his displeasure, partely to flatter hym and get somewhat of hym, ye not onely suffred hym to abuse your wyues & your chyldren, suche as beste lyked hym, but also increased your bordell houses, and with open eyes lette your wyues and your chyldren dayly and nyghtely to haunte them. And openly in the stretes (whiche I abhorre to reherce) to appchende men, and prouoke thē to lechery. I omittte for the shortenesse of tyme many suche other elections, whiche haue proceded of your grosse and presumptuose wyttes, after that ye hadde transgressed the order, wherein Romulus left you, and exceded the termes of your offyce or ductie: whiche at the laste was perceyued by you (as I dydde suppose) whan ye beinge tediousse of that beastely lycence, whiche that beast Heliogabalus gaue freely vnto you, had slayne hym, and toke me to be your emperour, although with all my power I refused that bourden, vntyll I was by the Senate and you constrayned to take it. And than desyred you me, to reduce the state of this citie vnto the fyrste order. wherabout I haue trauayled these eyght yeres, with not a lyttell payne, study and labours: begynnynge at myne owne household, to thintent that as well by the example of my seruantes and officers, ye and other being vnder my rule, mought the soner reforme your selues, as also that

that ye mought the better perceyue, and be lesse offendyd with my seuerptye. And bycause I dyd se moch ill example procede of the Senate, also that ye were oppressed with the pryde and corruption of iuges and officers, I vsyng moche diligence weeded them out, and discharged them of theyr authoritties: ne they went not unpunished accordyng vnto theyr merites.

C I purged also the state of gentylmen of ribauldes and riottours, and aduancing ther vnto other, I caused them to be dayly exercised in actes of prowesse, or elles to here lessons in such maner of doctrine, as they by they mought acquire more wysdome, to be officers or counsaylours in the weale publyke. Oncly the state of the people I dyd not visite, sayunge in punishment of theues, for as moche as I iuged that ye had leaste lybertie to do any great yuell, beinge (as I sayde) oppressed with tyranny. And that those vices which were amonge you, lyke as they were taken by the example of your superiours, so trusted I, that by theyr punishmente, the sayde yll maners shuld be forsaken, and by the vertuous example of suche honest men as I haue put in theyr places, good maners shulde be as gladly imbraced. But nowe I perceyue all hath hapened contrary to myne expectation, for the sparinge of you, and the correction of my seruantes, with the sharpe reformation of the senate & gentylmen, hath broughte you vnto suche a presumption and arrogance, that ye contend to be equal with gentylmen, vsing no fourme of reuerence vnto them, eyther that ye thynke, that I feare more your puiasaunce, than I sauour theyr honesties: or elles that your rycheesse doo make you so proud, which ye abusyng in excessiue vsuries, ye ther
with

with deuoure the patrimonies of many yonge gentylmen, and haue made them beggars, or by the scruetie of the auncient lawes of this citie, taken theym in bondage and slayne theym in irons. And by suche colourable rauine, ye haue bought great possessyons in Grecia, Sicile, and Spayne, wherby ye accumulate treasours and pleasures lyke to great prynces. If ye thynke me to be aferde of your puissaunce, your opinion is false. for aboute all thynges I mooste desyre to dye for the defence of the weale publyke of this noble citie: and in dede rather wyll I dye, than see the calamities whiche nedes muste ensue therunto, if order be not kepte, as I before haue declared.

At that worde all the people cryed with one voyce pouryng out teares from their eyes, A yue most noble and gracious emperour, he that wolde your death, let hym dy, let hym be rent into pieces, our puissaunce shall not annoyce you, but vnto dethe shall defende you. ye haue restored vs vnto lyfe that were deed, vnto libertie that were in thraldom, vnto honour that were dishonoured. A yue vertuose emperour, and what lacke ye synde in vs, reforme it, and we shal obey you, and he that wyll resyst or rebell, let hym be slayne and drawen with a hoke throughe the citie, and thzowen into Cyber. Ye be in gouernaunce our father, whome we chyevely wyll honour. In age ye be our mooste derest sonne, whom more thā our owne liues we do fauour. And than estesones they cryed, A yue mooste gentyll and ryghtwyse emperour.

Hereat the emperour relented, and with moch peyn retayned the teares of his eyes: And after that he had settled his sprytes and countenance, he spake than
vnto

unto theym in this wyse: I am well contente that ye haue declared, that there is yet in you some porcion of vertue, whiche gyueth me hope, that neyther the noble renoume of this citie begonne by Romulus, and augmented by other honourable gouernours, noꝝ my labours in restozpug therof, whan it was decayd, and lykely to peryshe, shall falle into ruine. But yf ye be constant in this affection, I truste that ryght shortly the publyke weale shall flouryshe, and that this cytie and people, shall be in as moche estimation as euer it was in the tyme of any of oure progenytours. And nowe haue I founde agayne your olde name, wherby I wyll calle you: Ye chylterne and successours of the vertuous Romaynes. I say you most victorious people, branches of Romulus, subduers of realmes, samplers of vertue and prowesse to all the worlde, mitigate your couetous appetites, expel from you auarice auale your hygh courages, I meane in excedynge the boundes of your popular state, and comparynge your selves with your superiours, be charitable and mercifull to your owne countrey men, where theire necessitie may be relieued with your abundaunce. be you ashamed, that peple of other countrys, people barbarous and rude, shuld condemne you of crueltie, foꝝ destroyenge your gentilmen, the chiefe oznamment and defence of this noble citie, that they shoulde reproche you of rudenesse and pryde, in onyfttyng to doo reuerence to them, whyche do in ozder excelle you. Remember, that lyke as if the state of senatours do decay, of the gentilmen are elected into the senate suche as be vertuous: so ye that shall be founde equal to them in vertue, (foꝝ your substance onely can not make you gentyll) shall

be aduanced to the state of gentylmen accordyng to rayson. Than consyder yf ye wolde not than also require to be preferred in reuerence. Nothing shall moze cause a man wyllyngly to do his dуетie, than to think what he wolde require of him that is inferiour vnto hym. And it hath ben sayde of wyse men, that he, whiche wolde be a ruler, shuld fyrst lerne to be a good subiecte. For truly a proude and couetous subiecte, shall neuer be a gentylle and temperate gouernour. Nowe haue I no moze to say to you, but applye your selves with good wylles to restore this cite to the auntyent and moste laudable order, as I shal endeuour my self by example and diligence to byynge it eftsoones vnto his perfection.

¶ Thus ended the emperours oration, and therewith he arose and departed, all the people pursuynge hym with this acclamation: The goddis immortall keepe and defend you most noble emperour. ye at the crown of our gloze, of our welthe and prosperitie: hated be he of goddis and of men that wolde you displeasure. Do what best lyketh you, the goddis immortall defende you.

¶ The feneritie that the emperour Alexander vsed in chassynge as well the pryde of the people, as also his men of warre of souldiours. Ca. xxix.



AFTER that the emperour was returned home to his palayce, he decreed, that the sayde comuners shulde be depriued of their lybertie, and name of Romaynes, and to be deliuered as bondmen vnto the sayd gentylmen, with whome they presumptuously had

had contended, and so to remayne in that state, excepte they redemed them selues by makynge the sayde gentylmen, in possessions and mouables, better than they theym selues were, whan they contended (for in dede the sayde communers were verie ryche men, as welle in substance mouable as perely reuenues) that done, they shuld be eftsones restored vnto their lybertie, adding therto, that it shuld not be lesfull vnto the sayde gentylmen, to infrāchise them in any other condicion. Fynally the sayd communers abhoryng seruitude, in continent redemed their heedes, accor̄dyng to themperours decree: whiche example was found afterwarde so profytable to the weale publyke, in retapnyng the auncient order, and restraynyng sedition, whiche before that tyme nowe and than happened, that it was thought of al men, that there was neuer decree or law made, that was moze benefyciall vnto the cytie. And the emperour was therfore not onely feared, but also moze honoured and loued of al the people, which were good citezens and chiefly fauoured the weale of their countrey.

¶ Lyke seueritie he vsed to all other states, as partly it is befoze reherſed, and partly I wyll nowe bryefely declare. He so herde the complayntes of souldiours agaynst their capitaynes, that yf he founde any capytayne in fault, he punished hym accor̄dyng to the qualitie of the act, without purpose to pardon hym. Lamprier

¶ Lyke austeritie he vsed to them that serued hym in warres. For on a tyme whan he herd that one of them had done wronge to a pooze olde woman, he discharged hym of his retayner, and gaue him to the woman to be her bondman, that he being a carpenter, shoulde Lamprier

with his craft and labours relieue her. And whan the resydwes of the souldyours were therewith greued, he perswaded them to be therewith contented, and dydde put them in feare to grudge at it. Oftentymes he dyscharged hole legions, neuer fearyng his army, for as moche as neuer man coulde repproue hym, that in his lyfe any captayne or petite capitayne toke or detayned any thyng of their souldiours wages. Whan he came to the cite of Antioche, his men of warre fell to wantonnesse, hauintyng womens baynes, and other riotous pastymes: whiche beinge brought to his care, he caused them all to be appzehended and put in pryson, whiche being knowen to them, whiche were of the fellowship of those that were taken, they began to make a commocion: Than the emperour wente to the place of iudgement, and caused the prisoners to be broughte befoze hym, the resydue of men of warre, standyng al armed about hym. And than began he in this wise.

Companiōs in armes (so that the actes of your fellows do discontente you) The discipline left to vs by our auncestours mainteyneth and kepeth the weale publyke, the whiche if it be let to decaye, we shall lose as well the name of Romaynes, as also the Empire. We maye not suffre thynges to be doone, whiche late were supported by that vncleane beast Helioabalus. The Romayn souldiours your felowes, and my companions in warre, they haunte brothelles, tauernes, and baynes in the greke facion, and therto one prouoketh an other: shall I suffer this any longer, and not stryke of theyr heades? Therewith arose a greate rumour and noyse in the people. Than sayde he againe: ye that be here, cry out whan it is necessary in bataile agaynst

agaynste your ennemies, not agaynst your emperour and soueraygne lord. I dare saye, your capytaynes taught you to vse those cries agaynste the Polones, Germaynes, and Persians, not agaynste hym that hath gyuen to you meate, lycrye, and wages. Ceasse therfore of your terrible cries, whiche onely be necessary in warte and batayle, lest that I with one mouth and one voyce dyscharge you Romaynes, and yet I doubt where I may so call you. For ye be not worthy to be of the people of Rome, yf ye knowe not the lawe of the Romaynes. And whan they cryed lowder, and also menaced hym with their weapons, he eftsoones sayd to them: Put downe your handes, whyche yf ye be valyant, ye shulde aduance agaynst your enemies, for these thynges do make me nothyng aferde. And yf ye flee any man, the publyc weale, the senate, & people wyl not fayle for to reuenge vs. But whanne they brauled & murmured neuer the later, he cryed to them with an hygh voyce, sayeng, Get you hens Romans, and put of your harneys.

A wonderful example, they all puttyng of theyr harneys and souldyours cotes, departed euery man to his lodgyng. There was it perceyued howe moch his seueritie profyted. Thanne the emperours garde brought all the standerdes into the camp, and the people them selves brought all theyr armure to the emperours palayce. And the legion whiche he had discharged, after that he was sued vnto, xxx. dayes befoze he wente to warde Persia, he eftsoones restozed into his place, and by theyr prowesse moste specially, he afterwarde baynquished his enemies. Not withstandyng oꝝ he departed, he commaunded all the capytaynes of

the sayde legion to be beheaded, bycause that throughe theyr neglygence, the souldiours passed theyr tyme riotously in a place of excellent pleasure called Daphnis, and had made the sedicion, they wykyng at it.

Howe the Emperour Alexander resourmed the Bury,
whereof he spake afore in his oration made to the
people. Capit. xxx.



ONE AFTER that Alexander had chastised the pryde of the common people of Rome, as before is reherced, he hym selfe came into the Senate, and there declared the sundry inconueniences, whiche had hapned, as wel to the citie as vnto the countreys therunto subiecte, by the detestable practyse of vsury, whiche vtterly repugneth agaynst all humanitie, charytie, and naturall beneuolence, that oughte to be amonge people that doo lyue in a mutuall concord: but most specially among them which lyue vnder one obedience, vnder one lawe or polycye. The inconueniences whiche hapened, he shewed to be these. Firste where the gentylmenne, and the moze parte of men of warre, were from theyr craddelles brought vp in idelnesse, beyng not instructed in any occupation or science, faulfe only in feates perteynyng to warre, in the tyme of peace and tranquillitie, or whan the warres be not so great, that they require the hole puissance of Rome, than they whiche be not sent forth to batayle, some do passe theyr tyme in dalliaunce and bankettyng with wanton women, or at dyse and other chargiouse solasyng, or in bothe, with the one and the other, moztely consuming theyr
sub

substance: some do delyte in other excessiue pleasures,
 as to haue great and beautiful houses, large and ample
 orchardes, and walkes inclosed with hyghe and
 stronge walles great pondes and meeres, conuaying
 therunto by a longe distaunce the salte water through
 rockes and mountaynes, and to haue in them dyuerse
 strange kyndes of fyshes. In the whiche entrepises,
 they also haue not onely consumed theyr goodes and
 patrimony, but also the warke aboue theyr expectati-
 on, ferre exceedynge theyr power, they haue bene con-
 strayned to borowe great sommes of moneye. Other
 there haue ben, which of an ambiciouse courage, haue
 vsed prodigall expenses as well in continuall feastes
 and bankettes, as in distributions of greate sommes
 of moneye amonge the people, and geyynge great re-
 wardes to corrupte Senatours and other great offi-
 cers, to attayne befoze theyr tyme, or not being worthy
 to some hyghe place or dignitie: wherby, they beinge
 broughte into pouertie, haue ben also constrayned to
 seeke helpe of other, to maynteyne theyr folow. All these
 personnes howe vnprofytable they be vnto the weale
 publyke, repozte me vnto you, specially if ye consider
 also, that whan they haue borrowed so moche, and the
 somes borrowed being so increased by vsury, that they
 be not only in desperation to borrow any more of their
 creditours, but also in the state to be greuously puni-
 shed accordynge to the lawes: than desyre they some
 alteration in the weale publyke, than fynde they oute
 the ambiciouse courages of them whiche are in aucto-
 ritie, and betwene whom of the noble men is enuy dis-
 dayn or pryuate displeasure, than seke they matter of se-
 ditid within the cite, which not being wisely repressed,
 hath

hath at his backe diuision of partes, ciuyle commoci-
ons, often tymes battayle and destruction of people.
Reade the hystories of Rome, and see howe often they
called for newe tables, that is to saye, that the instru-
mentes and obligations made for dette, shuld be can-
celled, and those dettes acqvyted: and vntyll it was
done the commotion ceased not. Howe se ye, that the
chiefe cause of this inconuenyence, was the sayde pe-
ssilent practyse of vsury, whiche as the occupyers dyd
se the wantonnesse and prodygalitye of the nobyltie,
gentylmen, and other increace, so dyd they augmente
it, more esteemyng theyr propre lucre than the weale
publyke, charitie, beneuolence, or natural humanitie.
Wherfore in my iugement suche vsurars amonge the
Romayns ought not to be numbred, but if they be not
wyllyngely reformed, they shoulde be taken and vsed
as perniciousse enemies vnto vs all.

¶ Here all the Senate, except a fewe, with one voice
commended the zelouse intente of the Emperour, and
offered theyr consentes in makynge suche a lawe as
shulde seme to the Emperour and them expedient, vn-
to the redresse of so great an enormitie. Than one Ca-
telius a noble Senatour, and a man of great vertue,
sayde in this wyse,

The sens
cence of
Catellius.

¶ Myne opinion is noble Emperour and reuerende
fathers, that no kynde of vsury shal be here practysed
within this citie, but fyrste I wold that serche be made
diligentlye, howe many Romaynes, and who they be.
whiche are entred into bondes, for the payment of vs-
ury, and likewise who be the creditours, and the prin-
cipall det being knowen: the creditours to be compel-
led by an edict of your maiesty, to holde them content
with

with repayment of the summe or value of the thyng that they lende. And than by an ordynance of this counsaile, the sayde principall dettes to be payd oute of the treasure of the citie, the dettours bynggng in pawne or suretie to repaye it within fyue yerres vnto the tresozers. Also that no man shall lende moneye or any thyng els, whiche the dettour shall be constrained to change into money to serue his comoditie, vpon any condition bargayne or promyse to haue lucre by the sayde lone. And if that he do, all his mouables to be immediately forfayted to the commune tresozy. Moreover, that yf any Romane shall happen to be in necessitie, by any mysfortune or casualtie, or by necessary charges, which he coulde not escape, that he should come to the prouoste of the citie and tresozers, bynggng with hym one senatour and two of the people, men not suspected of infamy, whiche shall sweare by the goddis preseruators of the citie of Rome, that they knowe, that the necessitie doth not procede of the sayde yll occasions: That done, he shall lay in his sufficient pawne, or bynggng in two hable persones to vndertake for the repayment of the money, which he wyl borrowe, the tresozers shall delouer so moche to hym, as to the prouost and them shall seme to be sufficient for his necessitie. And yf any other man wyl beneuolently lende them that, which they wyl desyre, without practyse of vsury, yf the borrower hath consumed his goodes in such folly as before is declared, that than he shall not be charged with the repayment of that that he borrowed, but that the creditour be clerely excluded from thensforth, to haue for his sayde lone any maner of remedy. But if constrainnt or mysfortune do cause

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the necessitie, and any man lende to an other for a beneuolent charitie, without any colour of vsury: than yf the dettour neglect the repayment therof, and wylfully let the day passe whan it ought to be payd, than he without mercy to sustayne the rygour of the common lawes of the citie. And so this lawe being well executed and neuer onmytted, we shall neither haue vsurour dwell in this citie, nor gentylmenne landlesse, nor persones sedicious, whiche shall be able to annoyne the bypuerfall weale publyke. Nowe ye haue herde myne opinion, wherto ye may adde or make some thing lesse as it shall seme best to your excellent wysedomes.

Then the emperour despyed Gordian an auncient senatour, who is named befoze, to shewe his opinyon, and he rysen out of his place, pausyng a lyttell, sayde in this wyse.

The sentence of
Gordiane

I lerned whan I was yonge, noble emperour and fathers, that he whiche shal gyue counsaile, specially to the makynge of lawes, ought to consyder foure thinges, That his counsaile be honest, that it be necessary, profytable, and possible. Thre of them haue be remembred by Catelius Seuerus, the fourthe it semeth that he had forgotten. I do well agree that the thyng that he wolde haue done is charitable, and therfoze is honest, also that it is necessary to repressse the ryottouse and prodygall luyng of gentylmen: it is profytable vnto the weale publyke, to haue all occasions of sedition, & sedes of warre ciuile to be extirpate. And truly no better deupse may be founde than Catelius, accordyng to his great lernyng and wysedome, hath ryght well declared. But let vs see, yf the reliefe appoynted by Catelius, for the whom he nameth worthy to haue it,

It, shall be alway certayn and possible. And if not, thā must we in steede therof, fynde somme other prouysion moze certayne, though it be not so easy, that good men in theyr vnwyllyng necessitie be not disappoynted. Is it possible trowe ye, that the cōmon treasure shal be alway abundant, that is to say, able to furnyssh al thynges necessary for the weale publyke, & in the ouerplus to be also sufficiēt to releue the said priuate necessities? Conspyder the greatnes of this noble empire, the great numbze of realmes, countreyes, and citieys, whom the prowesse of our noble auncetours, haue by force constrained to be subiecte vnto vs, and by force we kepe and retayne them. Thynke you, that they all wyl euer remayne in peace and tranquillitie? Do you not know that all lyuyng thynges desyre lybertie, and mankind most specially? Remember you not, that wyl constrained seketh euer oportunitie to slyppe of his colar? For gette you, that almoste yesterdaye the Moores began to rebelle, and had shaken of their yoke, had they not bene quickly repressed by furius Celsus? Also the great countray of Illiria, frome whens we haue our chiefe men of warre, made late a commocion, whyche had ben no smal daunger and losse to this empire, had they not ben valiantly and wisely pacified & brought in good order, by the noble capitayne Varius Marcinus, kynsman vnto your maiestie mooste noble empereour. Armenia was in peryll to be losse, if it hadde not ben well defended by the prowesse of Iunius Valinatus. And it is douted of some, whether the Germainys wyl contynue the leage that they made with vs. It is priuily muttered amonge the people, that Artaxerxes kyng of Persia, dothe gather moche people and trea-

sure, intendyng not onely to subdue all Armenia, but also the hole countrey of Asia, vnto the see of Propontis, whiche deuydeth Asia from Europa, claymyng it in the auncient right of the kynges of Persia. What other people wyll do, we be vncertayn: As vncertayn be we, what treasure wyll be sufficient to furnyshe all thynges necessary agaynst those perpls. Ye we be not so sure of our prouinces & auncient dominions, from whens we haue our yerelye reuenues, penyons, and tributes, but yf other rebell and preuayle agaynst vs, (whiche the goddis forbide) puillance saylyng vs, and good fortune forsakyng vs, it is to be suppoled, that they wyll rather pay nothyng than ought, be also gouerned rather by their owne countreyemen, than by vs that be straungers. Than what haue we lefte vs to kepe this noble citie, to defende vs, our chylterne, our wyues, the temples and aulters of goddis immortall, yf our common treasure be not ryche and abundant, wherewith we maye gette succours in some place, prouyde vitayles sufficient, and strongly fortify our munitions & fortresses? Also we be not sure, where warre shall assaile vs, epyther by lande or by see, if it happen to be by the lande, yet knowe we not whither it shalbe in dyuers countreys or one. yf in sundry countreys, than must we haue dyuers armies, and dyuers prouisions, acco:dyng as the state of the countreys requirereth, some bringe fetuently hotte, some excedyng in colde, the one full of mountaynes vnapt for carpage, the other thicke of wodes: this lackyng freshe water, that drowned in fennes. If it be on the water, than be the charges greater and moche moze vncertayn, shippes with their takelynge and ordynaunce aboue all
other

other thynges beinge moſte coſtly, and oftentymes oꝝ their ennemies mete theym, they be eyther deuoured with ſtoꝛmes, oꝝ by contrarie wyndes conſtrayned to runne on quyeke ſandes oꝝ rockes. Wherfoꝛe we muſt alway haue a great numbꝛe of ſhyppes in makynge, and a greatte noumbꝛe of perſonnes retayned to ſupplye them. I wyll not omitt the moſte neceſſary pꝛouiſion of graine foꝛ this cytie, whiche oftentymes by ſcarſitie in the countrais adioyning vnto vs, we haue ben cōpelled to make in coũtreys far diſtant from vs at very high pꝛices, which if the like neceſſitie happen vnto vs, vndoutedly it wil exhaust wōderfull treſoꝛs. Theſe thynges conſydered, it ſhall ſeeme (I doubt not) expedient, that the common treaſure remaine alwaye vntouchēd, but only foꝛ commune neceſſitie, the incertayntie wherof pꝛoueth it impoſſible, that the cōmon treaſure ſhall be euer ſufficient to releue the pꝛyuate neceſſitie of them that are ſpoken of, ſenſe miſfoꝛtune, and other conſtrayned meanes vnto pouertye, ſhall euery daye happen to ſome man. Wherfoꝛe nowe let vs deuſe a moꝛe certayne pꝛouiſion. And trewely fewe men haue ſo moche compaſſion and charitie (the moꝛe pitie is it) that they wyll lende theyꝛ goodes to an other man, haue they neuer ſo moche, excepte thereby may retourne to them ſome aduauntage oꝝ pꝛofite. And to conſtrayne them to lende (except it were foꝛ defence of the weale publyke) it were agaynſte iuſtyce. Wherfoꝛe fynally this is my ſentence, lette a certayne gayne be lymitted by the Emperours maieltie, which beinge thoughte by vs tollerable to the boꝛower, and competently ſufficient vnto the creditour, let it be declared by the Trybunes vnto the people, with the re-

lydue, whiche was indifferently and wysely deuised by Catelius Seuerus. And I doubt not, but that it wil lyghtly passe and be inacted by all theyr boyces.

This oration and sentence of Gozdiane was well commended, as well of the emperour, as of all the senate. In conclusion, after a lyttell debatyng, it was appoynted by the emperour, that the creditours shuld haue for the forbearynge of euery Sestertium (which in englysh money of olde grotes, wherof. viii. made an ounce, amounteth to. iiii. li. xvi. s. viii. d.) for euery daye lone, the thyrde parte of As called Triens, (which was the thyrde parte of an olde Romaine peny called in latyne Denarius, whiche was the poyle of an old englyshe grote, and so the vsury for the hole yere amounteth in Romaine money to. xii. pence one As and. ii. Trientes, in accompte of Englyshe money. xii. grotes, the tenth parte of a grote, and two partes of a tenth part deuyded in thre partes. whiche somme moughte be moze easely cumpted by the Romainys, which had the sayde sinall money Trientes coyned, thanne by vs that haue no suche money. Not withstandynge for as moche as it well appereth, that the gayne by the lone of one hundred poundes sterlyng by the hool yere, amounted not by this rekenyng but to. iiii. li. xii. d. and the thyrde part of a grote or there about, comptyng by the olde grotes, wherof wente but. viii. to the ounce, of the money currante, wherof do go. xi. grotes to the ounce, the vsury amounteth to. v. li. x. s. viii. d. ob. or there aboute, whiche wyll seme to all men, not beinge vsurers, to be a gayne sufficient and reasonable. But nowe to retourne to our matter. This sentence of the Emperour and Senate beinge declared by the Tribunes

bunces, as it was appoynted, all the people with most ioyouse spirites, and as loude as they could crye, consented that it shulde be made a lawe perpetual in eue-ry poyn- te, accor- dyng as the Emperour and Senate befoze had deuised. it. wher vpon incontinente the acte was d:awen and publyshed as hereafter foloweth.

¶ The suboe concernynge vsuries made by the Emperour, Senate and people of Rome. Cap. xxxi.



NO NECESSITIE be consydered frome hensefozthe in theym that consume theyr substaunce in dis- playinge, outragious expenses, or lechery: who so euer lendeth to them, let it be at his ieopardy and without hope of remedy.

¶ Whom fortune peruerse, longe syckenesse, scrupce, fren- deshypppe, disloyaltie of them that he trusted, the- ues or oppressours haue broughte vnto pouertye, to hym let men extende theyr compassion and charitie: or if his necessitie do constra- yne hym to borrowe, let hym come to the prouoste of the citie, and declare his neces- sitie, and wherof it proceded, ha- yng with hym one senatour and two of the comuners, persons well knowen and credible, which being deposed, that his wo- des be true and vnfeyned, and what they suppose shall be sufficient to releue his necessitie, the prouoste shall assigne one riche man of the citie, if the partie hym self name not a nother, to whom or to hym that is named, the prouoste shall directe his letter in the name of the Senate and people, wlllyng hym to deliuer to the sayde persone, the somme that he nedeth, takynge of hym sufficient suertie for the repayment of the somme that

that he lente, with the increase for euery daye spatinge of one Sestertium, xii. Romaine pence, one As, and, ii. Trientes, and so after that rate in all other sommes aboute the somme of Sestertium, and not to excede that gayne in any maner condicion.

The that refuseth to lende for this gayne, let hym as unworthy the name of a Romaine, or to take any benefyte by the weale publyke, be of the Censores depriued of the name of a citezen, & noted for euer with the cryme of ingratitude. This lawe decreed by the Senate, enacted by the people, confirmed by the imperial maiestie, be for euer established, and neuer by any other lawe, custome, or ordynance to be abolsyhed. And who that with violence resisteth agaynst it, let him be taken for rebell and enemy vnto the weale publike.

What loue and benenolence the emperor shewed to the people of Rome, and of other his wonderfull vertues. Cap. xxxii.



WE HAVE HERDE moche declared of the vertuous seueritie or sharpenes of this noble Emperour Alexander, nowe shall you here as moche of his gentylnesse, patience, and affabilitie. After that the sayde acte was proclaymed thzoughout Rome and Italy, the emperour callynge to his remembraunce, that the sayde lawe was made onely for them whiche hereafter shoulde be constrained to borrowe, and that there were many at that tyme in daunger, whom by that acte shulde take noo benefyte, he beinge moued with pitie, caused sodaynly serche to be made by the Censores, howe many were in the daunger of vsury. And than sente he for all the vsurers, and after that he had a lyttell blamed theym
for

for theyr auarice and ingratitude towarde their countrey, at the laste alterynge his countenaunce & speche vnto a moze myldenesse, he despyred them al at his contemplation, to take for that tyme theyr pyncipal som that was borrowed, and clerely to remytte all the residue, promysynge, that the money shoulde be payed to them out of his treasure. Whiche requeste of the Emperour was pronounced in so gentyl a facion, that the creditours with one voyce not only graunted vnto it, but also promysed to remitte part by his arbitrament, where he thought conuenient. whiche the Emperour moste thankfully takynge, gaue the creditours leaue to departe, commaundynge them to kepe the thyng secrete, vntyll they knewe moze of his pleasure.

Than commanded he, that all such as were runne in the daunger of vsury, shulde be warned to come before hym, not at one day or tyme, but fyrste they which were reputed and knowen to be men of honestie, and by some mysaduenture were brought vnto pouertie. And beinge trewely certified what goodes or landes they had in possession, he remembred to them what peryll they were in, and lamēted the state of the citie, that the gentylmenne, by neglygence or lacke of good husbandry, shulde be in bondage and captiuitie vnto the comuners, whiche ought to be inferiours to theym, and doo to them reuerence. **H**e sayde he, where is the noble courage of Romulus progenye? who foloweth Quincium, Publicolam, Curium, Fabritium, noble Senatours? whiche after that they hadde vaynquished pryncis, and achieved sundry great victories, ben dyuerse tymes Consules and Dictatours, the highest dignities within this citie, they lyued soo moderately,

T that

that rather thanne they wolde be subiectes to the auarice of other, they chafe to lyue in pooze howses of husbandry out of the citie, with a pottle full of woxtes, and suche a small pitaunce for them and theyr wiues, as nowe our seruantes wolde disdayne to be fedde with. And lest abundaunce at any tyme, shulde prouoke theym to lyue moze delicately, they refused not onely great summes of money sent to them by straungers, but also possessions offered them by the Senate and people, for theyr induour and labours about the weale publyke. Thus I saye vnto you, whome althoughe mysadventure, or charges inforced, haue exhauسته some or the moze parte of your substance or patrimony, yet haue ye not therfore abated your dyete, nor absteyned from pleasures, nor mynished your family: but without vsyng good husbandry, and without circumspection, haue contrary to the sayd honorable Senatours, cholen rather to spende your olde age in misery, and to be in bondage vnto your inferiours, thanne ye wolde retayne in captiuytie your wanton appetites.

¶ But here whan the Emperour perceyued that they were ashamed and made heuy countenance, than said he vnto them: Wold ye not gladly be estones at libertie, at the leaste way out of the danger of vsury? They with a voyce mooste lamentable answered: Ye noble Emperour. Wyl ye sayde he, with good wyl paye to your creditours the princypall duetie, haupnge tyme conuenient that it maye be leuied of your possessions, haupnge left vnto you some portion to lyue on? They answered: ye noble prynce, elles were we unhappye. Notwithstandynge amonge them were some, and not
many

many, whiche had not lefte eyther goodes or possessions to paye the hole duetie. Than the emperour with drue hym into his chamber, and caused them seuerally to be brought vnto hym one after an other. and according to their substance in possessions or mouables, he rated them to paye of the principall dette, some all, some more and some lesse. And bycause they had not the money than redy, he promysing to discharge them of the sayd payementes by theyr consentes, assigned to them, whiche had possessions, two partes therof, and the thyrde parte he reserued to hym selfe, vntyll the summe were therof receyued, wherto they were rated. Of theym that had goodes and no possessions, he appointed that the summe, wherevnto they were rated, shuld be valued in theyr sayd mouables by theyr own frendes, and be brought vnto some place, where by the Emperours officers it shuld be receyued. And ere they departed, he caused in theyr presence, euery summe to be seuerally tolde out of his cofers. And than sente he for all the creditours, and puttyng them in remembrance of theyr gentyll promise made vnto hym, and declaryng also what he hadde done, he caused euery mannes portion accordyng to the sayde rate to be deliuered vnto them. And for them whiche had neyther good nor possessions, he payed halfe of the principall dette out of his owne cofers, with a clere acquitaunce vnto the partie. And commaundyng the creditours, to bringe to him cancelled the obligations and instrumentes belongyng to the sayde dueties, and gyuing to them hartly thanks, he let them departe.

¶ Semblably perswadyng the dettours to frugalitye or moderate lyuinge, he also prayed them to forsee

as moche as they coulde that wylfully they commytte not theym selves to the hasardes of fortune. he than imbracynge theym all, badde theym fare welle. who gyuyng to hym mooste humble thankes, and for ioye pourynge oute aboundaunce of teares, departed with gladdetpdynges home to theyr houses. As for them, whiche at disc playnge, in riote and lechery, had consumed theyr substaunce, he if any were lefte, caused it to be valcwed as well possessions as mouables, and to be diuided amonge theyr creditours, accorbyng to the quantitie of the true dette: And in satisfaction of the remnaunte, he adiuged them bonde: soo that for a certayne tyme as the Emperour wold appoxtion him, hauynge regarde to the dette, he shulde serue one creditour, and afterwarde an other, in mooste vile seruyces, recepyng therfoze nothyng, but onely meate drynke and clothynge, belongynge to slaues. And that the creditours shulde haue ouer them equally as moche authoritie as they had ouer them whiche they had bought or taken in batayle. Not withstanding it was at the libertie of the creditours, to aquite them of their seruiue, but not to infraunchise them, butyll the tyme were expired, whiche was by the emperour appointed: but durynge that tyme, they ware continually the habite or apparayle assigned to bondemen, ne were esteemed for Romaynes, nor enioyed any pryuylege. If they obediently serued and contented theyr creditors, at the ende of the terme, whiche the emperour appointed, they were set at lybertie, and restozed to their fyrst estate and condition. But if they fledde frome theyr master, or contemptuously withstode his commandementes, fightyng with hym, or doing to hym any notable

ble inturpe, they were condemned to perpetual seruitude during theyr liues. They which had left nothing to pay their creditours, to them he appointed a longer captiuitie, esteeming the value of his seruice as wel to the facultie of the persone as to his estate and condition. As if he were very wyttie, well lerned, or a perfect artificer, by reason wherof his seruice moughte seme very commodious or pꝛofytable. Also beinge a gentylman, the more estimation that he were of, the more greuous and odyous to hym shoulde be his seruice and punishment: wherfoze to the one and the other, lasse tyme was thought to be sufficient, than to them whiche were of grosse wytte, or ignozant of good occupation, or els base or vyle of condition.

This ordynaunce beinge put in due execution. It was thought at the fyrst of some men to be very cruel, but after that it was ones perceyued, what a meruailous frugalitie or temperance of lyuyng, was sodeynly founde, as wel in the cite of Rome, as also thꝛough out all Italy. Also what delyte menne toke to be seene them selues moderate in apparayle, honest in lyuing, also exercysynge them selues in pastymes conuenient, not dishonest or chargeous. Also to haue them in derision, whom they founde in any maner of wise attempting the contrary. Than extolled they the excellent wytte and vertue of the mooste noble emperour. And where afoze they called him cruel and tyzannous, they ceased not to name hym equal to the goddis, moost benygne and mooste gracious, confessyng that hadde not ben his seueritie, they al with the cite and empyze had vtterly perished.

THE IMAGE OF

Of the exspect curiositie of the emperor Alexander
in admytting counsaylours. And of his answers
for the same matter. Cap. xxxiii.



THE INCOMPARABLE diligence of this noble emperor about the weale publyke, is to be meruayled at, and of all princis to be obserued and folowed. For what by his owne trauayle and excellent prudence, what by his continual scrutiny by wise and honest espialles, he assuredly knewe the qualities, manners, and appetites of al men (except very fewe) dwelling in Rome or Italy, which either by reason of their possessions or substance, or for any other estimation amonge their neyghbours, were lykely to be called to some authoritie. Also of all those, whiche in other regions and prouynces, were for some cause notable or famous. This knowledge caused hym to be circumspecte in admytting counsaylours and other great officers. As among many examples I wyl declare one, wherof I my selfe can beare wytnesse.

After the death of Quintilius Marcellus, a man in great authorite about the emperor, as he was wel worthy for his syngular wysedome and vertue (in so moche as it was thought, that there was neuer a better man bove in Rome, and therefore the emperor dyd extremely lament his death) the noble man Frontine, whom also the emperor entierly loued, awayting his tyme, aduanced to hym with a commendable report an honourable personage, who was named Fabius Maxtinus, to be in the place of Marcellus. After that the emperor had herd and wel considered the wordes of Frontinus, wherby was set forth the ancient stocke
from

from whens Fabius descended, his greate possessions and substance, the grauite of his personage, his great experience in sundry auctorities: the emperor dydde caste on Frontine a dyspleasant countenaunce, and after that he ceased to speake, the emperor made answer in this wyse.

Howe moche hath your iudgemente deceyred vs Frontine? howe could yethis longe dissemble with vs? I had thought that ye had euer esteemed the stock by the fruite, and not the fruite by the stocke. No man commendeth the boughes or bzaunches, bycause the stemme of the tree is great, longe, or streighte: but yf they be well spreadyng, thycke of grene leaues, & well sette with good fruite, than men saye that tree hath a fayre toppe, that tree bereth good fruit. And although the tree be neuer so mysshapen or croked, the owner wyl digge about it, and vse al diligence for to preserue it: but yf the stocke be neuer so fayre, if the bowghes be rotten or seare, the owner wyl mynde them, & throw them into the fyre. If the fruite be vnfaucry or withered, who taketh any great hede of the tree? who wyl gather the fruite? but rather let them rotte on the tree or fall downe, for he careth not for them. Who loueth rotten groundsyll or poste, bycause that it was part of an auncient house? who setteth by a ragged a resty or yll fauoured colte, bycause that the harrcyse, whereof that kynde is comen two hundred yeres passed, was the pryce of runnyng at the game of Olympus? I confesse, that long continuance in any thing that is good addeth an admiratton, but no prayse to the thyng: all be it the thyng founden good, prayseth the contynuance or longe enduryng therof. A good chylde renews
weth

weth and also augmenteth the prayse of his parentes: the yll chyldc raseth out of mennes hartes the fathers honour and benefytes. Also great possessions or substance, maketh vertue suspected, bycause they be mysters of pleasaunt affections, and also noutpces of wanton appetites. Moreouer the grauitie of the personage is not proued by stately countenaunce or daynfull sylence, but by constance in vertue, and wordes alway apte for the tyme and purpose. And expertence, whiche is not comended by laudable actes, doth deserue no more prayses, than the gate of a blynd hors aboute a wyde horssemyll, whiche gryndeth no corne. And that olde capitayn, whiche in many batayles and tourners hath ben founde alway negligent, deserueth no garlande. Many authorities do require an exquisite tryall, forasmoch as authoritie doth abate feare, & minister boldnes, boldnesse draweth in licence, licence is mother of myschicfe, whyche nedes must be suffred vntyll fauour relenteth. These thynges consydered Frontinus, eyther your iudgement is not so perfecte as I wold haue taken it to be, or els ye secretely winkyng at the sayd faultes, haue dissembled longe with me, and kepte thynges from my knowlege, contrary to your allegiance and duetie.

With these wordes Frontinus beinge aferde, knelled downe, and besought the emperour to pardon him of his folly, confessyng that he had not perfyte knowlege of the dispositiō and maners of the said Fabius. but forasmoch as he had ben fauourable toward him and his frendes in his ministrations, he mutually despyred his aduancement.

Thereat smyled the emperour and sayde: Shall this

this plague neuer ceasse, which in royalmes and cities hath so longe raigned: that mutual beneficence blyndeth mens iudgementes. And whiles power with pleasures getteth great acquayntaunce, vertue is unknowne, and in the courte friendles. I knowe, Frontinus, that pryde in Fabius Macrinus is a domestical vice. For in all the house of Fabius it hath ben exceedingly noted, and in some hystories remembred. And in this man as well the remembraunce of his auncient nobilitie, as his long continuance in authoritie, hath more increased it, as I my selfe haue marked, and also heard other murmurynge at it, whan I haue secretely walked in the cytie in a ppyuate apparayle. Wherefoze I wyll not that he be in our counsaile nor palayce, that either his pryde shulde be of yonge men folowed, or of olde men dysdayned, or of vs suspected. His greatte possessions & ryches declareth, that he can not be with a lyttell contented, sens the more parte therof he hath gathered vnder the colour of his authorities, beinge not lefte vnto hym by his owne parentes, nor receiued of our lyberalitie, nor by the gyfte of our pcedecessors. And very seldome where honour increceth auarice abateth. I hate not Fabius in the state that he nowe is, although I fauour not in him the said notable vices: but if he were nerer vnto vs, we coulde neyther susteyne them, nor suffre hym unpunyshted, yf he than bled them. Also in his longe experience I neuer herde hym for iustyce commended: but I haue herde his arrogancy, his longe delayeng of suiters, and his parcialitie, of many dyspraysed. Cruelly such a man is neither mete to be a nigh counsaillour, nor to say the truthe in any great office, These thynges considered Fron-

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tinus,

tinus, speake no moze of hym, but serche for some o-
ther, in whome synceritie and temperaunce be ioyned
with wysedome. Suche one, yf he be of an auncient
house, shall byynge to our palapce an honourable re-
membraunce of his noble progenitours, and as wel-
le to noble as vnnoble shalbe an excellent patern oꝝ pre-
sydent. If he be but late come to woꝝshyppe, his ad-
uancement shall ingender in noble men an honest en-
uy, cyther to exceede hym in vertue, oꝝ at the leste to be
iudged equall vnto hym. to pooze men it shall be an
allectife and roote of good hope, that they be in the
ranke, where the rewarde of vertue is dealyd.

¶ And thus celled themperour to speake. And Fron-
tinus departed, being both ashamed of his enterpryse,
and abashed at the wysedome of his noble mayster.

¶ The moste noble answere of Alexander made to Aspye-
mus, concernynge the dysabeyng of Sextilius
Rufus in his absence. Cap. xxxiii.

Lapidius



HE EMPEROVR hadde a custome
which was very commendable, that he
neuer made any senatour, without the
counsaille of the holt senate, and euery
senatour shuld gyue his sentence, also
testimony of his lyuyng, & credence shuld be brought
in by honoꝝable personages. But yf cyther the sena-
tours that spake, oꝝ the witnesses were founden to haue
spoke vnturly, they were reiected into the lowest place
of estimation among the people, being also cōdemned
as decepuers oꝝ foꝝgers, without hope of remysion.

¶ There was dwellyng in a village by Roine a gen-
tylman called Sextilius Rufus, whiche was ryghte
well

well lerned in all partes of philosophy, and also in the sciences lyberall. But forasmuch as he considered the frequent alteration of the weale publyke, with the manyfolde peryls & troubles in the administration thereof, he of purpose withdrew hym therfro as moche as he mought, although his father had bene a senatour in his lyfe, and he amonge his neyghbours and dyuers of the nobilite was had in good reputation. Not withstandyng for the causes befoze reherfed, and that he despyed nothyng so moche as quietnesse of mynde, and to solace hym selfe in the moste pleasaunt herbar of science, and bysityng the moste dylectable warkes of auncient wyters, he seldom came to the emperours court, or resorted to playes or bankettes, ne dyd come to salute the great officers nor men in authozitic, as the vse was at that tyme. And amonge the yonge gallantes he was not beloued, bycause he fauoured not theyr ryottous pastymes. And the men of lawe hadde hym in dysdayne, bycause he repugned agaynst their subtyll gloses, and blamed their auaryce. fynally he being fully content with the golden mean, liued right honestly in a manour, whiche he had competently furnished with possessions sufficient for the prouisyon of his meane household, whiche was to his neyghbours more bounteous than sumptuous.

¶ After that the emperour had pouerged his palatce and the senate of vnwoorthy persons, corrupted with detestable vices, and with moche difficultie founde othert to set in their places: It hapned, that some good man named to hym Sertilius Rufus, declarynge the common report, whiche he had herde of hym. The emperour, who knew all to be true that was spoken, held

his peace not withstandyng, harkenynge what shulde be other mens sentences. The more parte of theyn, whiche were present, assymed, that Rufus for his honeste wysedome and lernynge was mete to be of the senate, but thye or foure sayd nothyng. At the laste Alphenus a great lawyer, and in good estimation with the Emperour, objected, sayeng, that Rufus not withstandyng that he was lerned in dyuers sciences, yet was he neyther profoundly lerned in the lawes ciuile, nor moche experienced in affayres of the empire. And that his lyttell husbandy and small prouision about the increace of his lyuynge, declared hym to be a man of no great polycie, nor of any dexteritie about thynges of importance. And that the aptitude of his nature, was only in studious meditation of sundry sciences, and in wytyng more than in doynge. Addynge to that philosophers were neuer good practysers in a weale publyke, nor yet good men of warre. Wherfore in as moche as he that is a senatour, not only oughte to be a man mete for polytike gouernance, as wel in guyng counsaile in matters therto pertaynyng, as also beinge chosen to be Dictor, or to any other mynistracion of Justyce, not to be ignorant in guyng iudgement in causes brought before hym: but also he oughte to haue some experience in marciall affayres, that beinge chosen consul, or leader of the hoste of the Romaynes, he mought se the men of warre to be well instructed and exercysed. And that in all thynges belonging to warre, the state of the citie be sufficiently furnyshed. Moreover, that in battayle ioynd eyther by his ignorance or basenes of courage, the Romayne army be not dystroyed. These thynges consydered, it seemed

seemed to him, that it was not expedient to receiue Rufus into the number of Senatours.

The emperour heyring Alphenus, and beholdynge that no man proffered to speake after hym, except thre or foure mo, whyche were lawyers, and one Munus Canillus a noble man, who had some dyspleasure towarde Rufus for one of his seruantes: these seemed by their countenaunces to approue the sayeng of Alphenus. That percepyng the emperour, he lokynge on Alphenus spake in maner as hereafter foloweth.

If I see well Alphenus, that not onely the vulgare and vnlettered people be angrely stired and do retain displeasure agaynste them, whiche withoute malycie, do rebuke in a generaltie the vices and faultes, which be founden amonge them: but also (whiche I doo lament) men specially chosen for theyr wysedome and lernynge, do disdayn them that rebuke the abuse of that study or exercise, whiche these wyse men most chieflýe haue haunted. I knowe that Scerilius in one of his bookes hath sharply noted the dettumente doone vnto iustice by couetouse lawyers, whiche by theyr subtyll wyttes haue inuolued the lawes ciuile into suche obscure and ambiguisse sentences, that noo man without theyr declarations, may knowe howe to do or minister iustice in cases, for the whiche the sayde lawes haue prouided. Nor they that make lawes can expound them afterwarde without a lawier, whiche perchance was not fyrste priue to the lawe makynge. These and lyke annotations of Rufus do not a lyttell offend you that be lawyers, althoughe ye haue abandoned practise. And that dyspleasure onely hath caused you to make this conclusion, that Rufus is not mete to be of

¶ iii.

the

the Senate the resydue of your argumente doth sufficiently proue it. If y^est the diuersitie of sciences, where in your selfe doo confesse, that he is well lerned, dothe not disable hym to be a Senatour, but maketh hym moze conuenient and necessary for so noble a counsaill. For to whom doth it moze apperteine to vse wordes in they^r propre signification, and to set them in order, so that they make not the sentence peruerse or doubtfull, than to a senatour, or one hauing rule in a weale publyke, and that is the thyng whiche grammer teacheth? **Grammer**
Logike. Logike is none other, but the scyence of reasonyng, helpynge naturall wytte to fynde truthe moze quicke-ly out of dyuerse opinions, by assyminge or denyng: whiche in a senatour maye not be spared. A man shall not well gouerne a cite or countrey, and sette in good order the maners of people (as Plutarche sayth) excepte he be wel founnyshed with eloquence, wherewith onely he maye perswade, affectuousely stee, inclyne, and leade where he lysteth the myndes of the multitude: And that is beste lerned by Rhetoryke. **Rhetoryke.** Howe many thynges happen in the state of a cite or Realme, whiche requireth a diligente and exacte computacion with numbres: and that by Arithmetike is beste percepued. **Arithmetike.** In assignyng of boundes and limittes, also to the making of munitions and fortresses, also in deuisinge of engines for warres, who dare say that geometry is not expediente: whiche describeth equalitie and inequalitye, aptnesse and vnaptnes, good proportion, and deformitie. Also without armony nothyng is senclly or pleasaunte, and by conorde and disorde all publyke weales do stande or decay: y^e and as some philosophers haue wyrtten, by them all thynges hadde they^r

ther? begynnynge. And this is beste vnderstande by the science called musyke. Whocouer he that leadeth an army, if he be instructed in the dyuerse temperatures of sundry countreyes, by the naturall discourse of the sunne, by the fyue cerckles, the alteration of houres in day and nyght, by the distance of clymes and paraleles, whiche be sensible lynes and spaces, wherby the sunne passeth about the firmamente: Also the moone with her mutable figures, and special authoritie ouer waters and humours, the naturall influence of other celestial bodies and signes, I meane in plenty or scarcity of thynges concernyng mannes sustinaunce, & in stormes or calmnesse of wether: Al whiche thynges be knowen by the diuine science called Astronomy. I saye if a capitayne be therein instructed, and not to moue the curiouse or arrogant, he shal the more saulfly kepe alway his army. Iulius Cesar beinge therein exactly lerned, vauquished by celeritie and sundry preuentions not onely the fortune and moste experthe chualtrie of valiant Pompey: but also the incomparable wyttes of fyue hundred Senatours. And our noble progenitour Hadriane the Emperour was thought to haue exployted thynges in batayle by the helpe of this science aboue mennes expectation. I omit Hercules, whiche became discipule to Atlas for the commoditye whiche he thought to finde in astronomy. Fynally as ye al knowe, I haue had no lyttel delyte in these foure mathematicall sciences, and yet haue for the vtilitye that I fynde in them, when I do contemplate the perfyte state of a weale publyke: And the same is approued bothe by Plato and Aristotle, which shapeth their examples by proportion of Arithmetik, geometry, and musike.

muspyke, where they wyte of concoꝛde in vertues oꝝ
 polytyke gouernaunce. This well consydered, a sena-
 tour epyther foꝝ gꝛupnge of counsayle, oꝝ foꝝ beinge a
 capitayne in warrres, shal fynde none impediment by
 haupnge these sciences, but vsynge them moderately,
 and as occasion requireth, they shalbe to hym not on-
 ly an excellent oꝛnament, but also a necessary treasure,
 and to all soꝛtes of gouernaunce a thyng right expe-
 dient. What although Sextilius be not profoundly
 lerned in the lawes ciuile? is that a good argument,
 that therfoꝛe he may not be a good counsaylour, oꝝ in
 other aũthoꝛitie about the weale publyke? Consysteth
 all the senate of lawyers? Oꝝ standeth the weale pu-
 blyke, and all her affaires onely by lawes all redy sta-
 blyshed? May no publike weale be without lawyers?
 How many noble Senatours haue there ben, and yet
 are, whiche neuer radde ouer all the. xii. tables? and
 yet haue they be found to reason wittily, and minister
 pꝛudentely. Be lawes any thyng els than rules of
 Justice, wherby she commandeth what shuld be done,
 and what ought not to be done, where a weale publik
 shuld prosper? Chan is it euident, that Justyce ma-
 keth lawes, and not lawe Justyce. Also he that redeth
 the lawe, seeth the commandement of Justice, but se-
 inge the lawe onely in that that he seeth it, he doth not
 knowe Justyce, but contrarꝝe wyse, he that knoweth
 Justyce, by hir may discerne what is ryght oꝝ wꝛong,
 what is equal oꝝ vnequall, and by the paterne of Ju-
 stice may inuente a remedy pꝛopise and necessary, whi-
 che expꝛessed in woꝛde oꝝ wꝛiting may be called a law.
 The knowlcege of Justyce epyther hapneth by speciall
 influence from the hygh god: oꝝ els it is gotten with
 the

the study of wisedome, comprehended in the booke of wise men, who of Pythagoras were called Philosophi, whiche dothe signify the louers of wisedome. Wherfoze they which eyther by diuine inspiration, or by study of the warkes of excellent wise men, haue the truest knowlege of Iustyce, and haue best vnderstandynge what is iuste, and what is vniust, and consequentely can prouide remedies accoꝝdyng to iustyce: which remedies if they ones be made vniuersal, they be lawes. howe so euer they be pronounced, be it by a multitude or by one persone, as the edict not onely of the emperour, but also of hym that is Dictoꝝ, is a lawe, as wel as that which is made by al the hole senate, or inacted by the Tribunes and people of Rome.

¶ And where ye saye that phylosophers were neuer good practysers in a weale publyke, noꝝ yet good men of warre, yf ye doo meane by practyse, that detestable exercise, whyche is subtyll deceuyng, crafty entermyng, mayntenance of iniustice, peruerse counsailynge and vnm easurable gettyng, I confirme than youre sayinge. foꝝ a phylosopher abhoꝝreth suche practyse, and as moche as he may doth and perswadeth the contrary. But if ye do intende by that word practyse, only the laudable exercise in thadmynystration of a weale publyke, truly ye be in a great errour and folye, and do speake as if ye were one of the vulgar people ignorant of letters, ye and that moze is, priuate displeasure hath caused you to forget what ye your self hath sene, contrary to that whiche nowe ye haue spoken. I wylle not reherse all them, whiche beinge studious in philosophy haue gouerned publyke weales, or haue executed their ministration therein substantially: but some
Æ wll

Wyll I speake of.

Who gouerned Egypt and Libia more nobly, than dyd Hermes called Mercurius Trismegistus : and what philosopher was in al sciences equal vnto him ? Who euer kept his countrey in suche a quietnesse, and made it so ryche as dyd Salomon kynge of the Hebrewes : whyche as it is founden in their hystories, translated into greke by the commādemēt of Ptholome called Philadelphus kynge of Egypte, was soo great a philosopher, that he dysputed of all thynges naturall and supernaturall : and for his wonderfulle knowlege there came to here hym out of all partes of the worlde men and women, beyng at that tyme in moſte reputation of lernynge : Was euer this cite of Rome in so good order as it was durynge the tyme of Numa Pompilius, whiche was .xl. yeres, who beinge an excellent phyloſopher and a ppyuate persone, was chosen to be kynge, and soo moche more is his gouernance to be commended, that he brought the people, whiche were rude, fierſe, and euer continually in warres with their neyghbours, into so good an order and temperaunce of maners, that they whiche befoze were their enmyes, had them in admyzation and reuerence : Who made better lawes or better ordred the common weale of the cite of Athenes than Solon the greates phyloſopher, as longe as they coulde ſuſteyne theyr owne welthe : The ſame cite had neuer a more noble Capytayne, nor a more valpaunt than was Pericles : who with Anaxagoras contynuallye ſtudied phyloſophye. And to deſcende to a more late tyme : where was there a better capitaine, or a more noble warrour than Scipio Affricaine : who hadde alwaye with hym
Polybius

Polybius the philosopher, and in vacant tymes from
 battayle he either herd him rede, or disputed with him.
 Semblably Lucullus was so studious in all kyndes
 of lernyng (as Plutarche writeth) that where he herd
 that any great lerned men disputed togyther, thither
 wolde he go, and studiously here them: and (as the
 the same autho^r saythe) he haunted and imbraced all
 kynde of philosophy, with mooste familiar acquain-
 taunce and custome, specially that whiche was called
 Academica, or the doctrine of Plato. And was there e-
 uer a moze noble, a moze polytike or moze valiant ca-
 pitayne, and moze esteemed and dyad of mooste puissant
 pryncis than he was? Lord god what a senatour was
 Cato called Uticensis? whose vertue was wondered
 at throughe the worlde, whose magnanimitie and in-
 comparable seueritie moze profyted vnto the publyke
 weale of the citie, than the vyctories of Pompey and
 Cesar. And was not he so studious in philophy, that
 he could not temper hym selfe, but that he must nedes
 rede Greke bookes, whan he satte in the senate? What
 consul can ye compare to Marcus Tullius, who only
 by his diuine and mooste excellent wysedome p^reserued
 the publyke weale and citie of Rome frome vtter sub-
 uersion, whiche nedes must haue hapned by the con-
 spiracy of Cataline and his confederates, if it had not
 ben by the incomparable witte of Tullius found out,
 and by his diuine eloquence playnly conuynced, and
 by his wonderful wysedome suppressed and cleane ex-
 tynguyshed? And howe studious he was, and exactly
 lerned in all kyndes of philosophy and eloquence, his
 mooste noble warkes do declare with fame immortall.
 I passe ouer Rigidius, Marro, Trasca, and many o-
 ther

other sage and honozable senatours, whiche were not onely excellent philosophers, but also prudence counsaylours and valyant capitaynes. yet wylle I reherce some, whiche were in the tyme of your remembrance. The emperour Adrian was so profoundly lerned in all philosophye, that he dysputed openly at Athenes with the chiefe phylosophers of all Grecia, and vanquysht Phauozinus, who at that tyme was of all other moste famous: and to what pryncce oz capytayn gyueth he place, eyther in marciall prowesse, oz ciuyle gouernance? What moze honoz euer hapned to Rome than that Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded immediately Adrian, whose lyfe was confessed to be the moste certayne lawe vnto al people to rule oz be ruled: And he for his exquisyte knowlege in all philosophye, was most commonly called Antonine the philosopher, not by reproche as soyn wold suppose it: but for a most excellent and rare commendation. And what man dyd euer moze encrease the weale publike, oz better defend, it, than dyd this most noble and vertuouse emperour? And be it of you receyued without suspicion of boiste, as it shall be spoken of me without any bayngloze: I whiche may not be compared with the moste inferiour of them befoze named, eyther in lernynge oz prowesse, yet howe moche I haue amended the state of the weale publyke, ye all can beare wytnesse: And that I haue nothyng appaired the imperial maiestie, it hath bene of the Senate and people in your presence confessed. And this coude I not so well haue doone, yf I had not instructed my wytte with the doctrine of philosophers. What saye you by Gordiane, Menatus, Iulius Seremianus, Catilius Seuerus, Frontinus,

Tacit-

Cacitus, and Aurelianus, honourable Senatours, and our trusty counsaylours: and Sabinus whyche sytteth here with vs: haue they not right well shewed them selues to be apte vnto gouernauce, whan they haue ben Consuls, Tribunes, and Pretors: yet be they no lawyers, but the moze part of them be studyous in phylosophy, and other lyberall sciences.

And nowe to make an ende of this matter, wherin I haue tarped the lenger, to the intente that I wolde extirpate this bayne opynyon, whiche men haue had agaynste philosophers and theym that be studyouse. Trewely that which ye do note in Sextilius to be littell husbandry and small prouision, procedeth not by lacke of good policie, as ye haue supposed, but he aduisedly doth neglecte to be riche or to aspire to any authoritie by ambition or flattery, preferringg temperate and sure quietnes, befoze daungerouse and vnthankfull labours, and moze esteemeth to be an honest lyuer, thā a malapert crauer. Also by his study in philosophy it seemeth that he hath acquired a great magnanimy: or noble courage, not extentyng the force of his wyt and knowlege in thynges whiche are but of lyttel importaunce: wherin he fareth like to the puissaunte grehounde, whiche was sente to the great Alexander by the kynge of Albany: vnto whom whan there was brought a great bul, he therfoze wold not ones meue, afterwarde a myghty and fierce lyon, was lyke wise shewed to hym, whiche he onely behelde and moued his tayle, but he wolde not therfoze aryse oute of his place. Finally there was brought forth a meruaylous great olyfant: than stode he on his feete, and dyd sette vp his bypstelles, and shewed his teethe, and beinge

comforted by Alexander, he lepte to the olyfant, and
 byt hym, and after a fewe assaultes kylled him. Like
 wise Sextilius beinge contente with his astate, exten-
 deth not his wytte to augmente it. but if he be fauou-
 rably called to thynges of greater importaunce, and
 therin well comforted, I doubt not but that he wyll
 shewe, that his study hath not ben vayneely employed.
 I meruayle that ye doo not consyder, that authoritie
 and fauour not onely sheweth a good wytte, but also
 doth polyshe that whiche is rude. Fullars, taplours,
 horsekeepers, and marinars, were by the Emperour
 Commodus, and my predecessour Heliogabalus, ad-
 uanced to be Consules, Pretores, and Tribunes, whi-
 che as I herde saye were so chaunged in their wyttes,
 that it semed vnto them which knew them befoze, that
 sauyng theyr visage, and personage, they were alte-
 red and made other men, so moche in theyr wordes and
 procedinges they excelled aboue their accustomed wit-
 tes, all mennes expectation. Howe moche moze hope
 is there of those men, whiche by education and studye
 haue theyr wyttes holpen? Suppose ye not, that there
 be within our empire thousandes of men, whiche be-
 inge but of meane reputation, if they were set in auto-
 ritie, or about our persone, wolde set forth the noble wit-
 tes equall to yours, and perchaunce better (whiche I
 speake not displeasantly, but onely to warne you to es-
 chewe arrogance) Truly god gyueth wysedome, but
 fauour and aucthoritie mooste chiefly sheweth it in a
 weale publyke. Erthe nourisheth the roote of the tree,
 but the comfortable sunne byngeth forth the blossoms,
 and if froymes do not lette, he with his holsome
 heate ryppeth the fruite, and maketh it pleasaunte. In
 lyke

lyke wyse studye and labour byngeth in knowledge, whiche by the comfozte of pynces appereth abrode in some ministracion. And if enuy or displeasure bynge none impediment: the increace of fauour maketh lernynge fruitefull and pzoftytable vnto the weale publyke. ye all here my sentence. And for as moche as the moze parte of you (as I well do perceyue) esteine noo lasse Sextilius Rufus than I doo, I wyll that he be sente for, and receyued into the Senate, and his name registred in the table of Senatours. wher vnto al the counsaile accoꝝdyng, it was for that tyme dissolued.

CHowe Sextilius herynge that he was made Pzetor, fled:
And what the Emperour sayde concernyng
that matter. Cap. xxxv.



AFTER THAT it was declared vnto the Senate, that the Emperour had chosen Sextilius Rufus to be a Senatour, and what he had sayde on his behalfe, they all reioiced in the Emperours wysedome and iudgement, and at his nexte comynge into the senate they all dyd aꝝpse and gaue thanks vnto hym, for byngynge into that college suche a man as Sextilius was. Sone after Sextilius beinge sent for by the Emperours most gentyl letters, came into the senate, and as his lerning and honeste maners required, was beloued and commended of all men excepte very fewe, whom enuy and priuate displeasure contynuallye fretyd: whiche the wise emperour perceyuinge, to the intent as well that the vertues of Sextilius shulde be moze knowen, and also be increaced by his comfoztable assistance, as also
to

to manysfeste to the comfozte of other, howe moche he was inflamed in the fauour of vertue and doctryne, he caused Sextilius to be chosen Dictoz, whiche than was the highestt office next to the emperour, in the ministracion of Justice. Therof herynge Sextilius, he beinge therat abasshed and meruaylouse sorowefull, priuile withdrew hym selfe out of the cite: & not makinge longe abode at his owne house, in a straunge habite, hauynge but one man with hym, wente vnto Athens, determynyng to passe his time there in study, vntyll the fame of hym were somewhat decreaced, and an other chosen vnto that office. Of this the aduersaries of Sextilius gathered noo lyttell occasyon, not onely to pursewe hym, with mockes and derisyon, but also to accuse hym vnto the emperour of dysobedience and obstinacy contrary to his allegiaunce, and also to blame hym for his departure. without al kyng lycence. All these accusations the Emperour herde withoute beinge any thyng meued agaynst Sextilius, and at the laste beholdynge the accusers with a dyspleasant countenance, he saide vnto them as hereafter foloweth.

Howe dare ye, thus presumptuously assaulte oure pacience with your false accusations? O how may ye for shame poure out your malice thus in our presence? What giueth you boldnesse to be thus malapert in attempting our reason with your enuious perswasions? Thynke ye vs to be so dull and grosse witted, that we can not percepue your cōspiracies? or so deafe, that we can not here your false rumours, which ye haue sprad of Sextilius? or so blynde, that we see not your cankered affections and passions sparklyng in your eyes,
infla-

inflamyng your bylage, blastyng out with your wordes, whiche for angre and haste, be so set out of order, that in them do appere your detestable folie. I tell you, Sertilius by this his departyng, hath nothing offended vs, or mynished the opinion that we haue had of hym, but hath augmented it, and right wel contented vs. For if enuy and malice hath not made you forgetfull, ye may remembre, that whan we chace hym to be a senatour, one thyng wherin we comended hym was, that he neglected to be rich, or to aspire to authoritie, se ye not howe he hath confirmed my saying, and that I spake it not for special affection: he hath not onely neglected authoritie, but that moze is, he is fledde from it, whan it came towarde hym. Whan we sent for him, he came vnto vs, and beinge appoynted to be a senatour, he dyd obeye vs, and gladly applyed his studye and counsaile therto pertaynyng: onely hering that he was chosen Pretor, befoze that he had monition thereof, he fledde, as if he had ben pursued with such force, as he had not ben able to stryue with, fearynge (as I sayde, whan I praysed him) the daungerous and vnthankfull labours, whiche he supposed to be in suche offices. And whither or to whome is he fled: not to the Persians, not to the people of Barbary, or other our ennemys: but he is peassibly gone vnto Athenes, whiche citie next vnto Rome we moste fauour. And there in a priuate habite, he lyueth in studye, in that exercyse whiche he supposeth that he can better susteyne, than the gouernance of a weale publyke. But not withstanding, shal we herefoze reiect hym & iudge him vnworthy to be called to authoritie: Nay, than were we ylle aduysed, and mought be noted varyable in our oppo-

nyon, sens we iudged hym ones hable for neglectyng therof, we now deme hym more hable for the refusyng: ne we wyl be therfoze more slacke in the offryng. ye we alsoo wylle therto gentyllly requite hym. For truly authozitie ought to be gyuen to suche as careth lesse for it, & kept from them, whyche pzease fastest toward it. For he that despyeth, wold haue it for his only commodity: he that loketh not for it, consydeyth that he is chosen for others necessitie. Therfoze howe dyuers is thair mynistracion, it euer appereth, where as bothe hapneth. Leauye your bayne enterpryse, to byyng vs in dyspleasure with hym, who is woorthye more honour than we can gyue hym, and by his lawdable flyghte hath vanquished your enuy, & to your great reproche hath publyshed your folp. We therfoze command you to auoyde out of our pzeence, and that we see you not, butyll we calle for you.

The letters of the emperour Alexander sent to Sextilius, and howe swiftpynally he returned to Rome, and receyued the offyce of Pretor. Cap. xxxvi.



RORTHVVITH the emperour hym self indited letters vnto Sextilius, in maner folowynge. Alexander Augustus. &c. The tydings of your sodayn departing, honourable Sextilius, was to the senate and people greuous, to your enemies (although they be fewe) pleasant and ioyous, dolorous to your frenedes, of whom there be many, but to vs not straunge, dyspleasent, nor meruaylous. forasmuche as we longer haue knowen your notable temperaunce, than we haue vsed your pzeence. wherfoze now we more consyder

syder your humylitie and vertuouse shamefastnesse,
 than that whiche your enemies do call obstinacye and
 dysobedience. Perswade now to your selfe, that where
 befoze we dyd fauour you, nowe do we moste hartlye
 loue you, and haue no lasse ardent desyre to haue the
 fruition of your vertue & lernyng, than hath the true
 louer of his wyfe or companyon. What suche loue is,
 ye that haue ben at Socrates banket, do knowe most
 certaynely. Retourne therfoze with honour gentylle
 Sextilius, satisfy the desyre of me, that am both your
 emperour and louer, reioyce the senate & people, shame
 your enemies, and recomfort your frendes. Let it suf-
 fyce vnto shamefastnesse, that she hath caused you to
 teoparde, not only your estimation & credence, but also
 your lyfe & substance, yf there had ben a senate vncir-
 cumspect, a people disordred, or an emperour a tyrant.
 Let her now gyue place to prudence & magnanimytie,
 her tyme of rule is expired in you, theirs is now come,
 for diuine prouidence hath so prouided, & wylleth it be
 so, sens she hath called you to the dygnitie, whiche ye
 wel haue deserued. In vayne were your longe trauaile
 in study and lernynge, yf actuall experience dydde not
 shewe forth their fruites. I confesse, that the bookes,
 whiche ye haue made, haue wel instructed other to go-
 uernance: but yet whan the publike weale calleth you,
 to be redy in your owne person to serue her, it is youre
 chiefe office and duetie. For so god hath ordeyned you,
 nature commaundeth you, your countrey compelleth
 you, and philosophy beadeth you. Retourne therfoze
 hardily, and accept with good courage and thankful-
 ly the rewarde of your vertue. Me the imynystracion
 shall be strange vnto you, that in study haue had with

Iustice ſuche familiaritie, and haue rad ſo many bookes of good polycie. Alſo (which ought moche to comfort you) ye haue a fauourable emperour, experte aſſiſtentes, diligent miniſters, and people obedient, ye beinge Hetoꝝ, howe many men expert in that office ſhal deſyre your company, and be glad to participate with you that whyche experyence oꝝ cuſtome hath vſurped from lernynge : Where law ciuile is neceſſary; among your aſſiſtentes ſhall euer be ſome, whiche therein ſhall counſaile you. but ſynally yf ye haue alwaye reſpecte vnto iuſtyce, and conſyder the cauſes with a prudente and dyligent ſcrutynie, the great knowlege of the lawe ciuile ſhall not moche trouble you. Laye therfoꝝe all dreade apart, and be not ſene foꝝ ſayntnes of courage to foꝝſake that, whyche the Emperour, Senate, and people, lordes of the worlde, haue with ſo great affection and iudgement prepared foꝝ you. Take heede of your helth, and let vs ſhortly imbrace you.

Theſe letters were ſent by poſte, and in ſhort tyme deliuered to Sextilius, than beinge at Athenes in the houſe of Sert^o Cheroneſis, with other philoſophers: which he receiuing with reuerence opened and radde, and in the readyng of them, partly ſtered with the louynge perſwaſions of the moſt noble emperour, partly oppreſſed with dolour, ſeing that he mought make no longer defence agaynſte his election, and that he muſte nedes entre the daungrouſe caſe of aucthozitie pyght full of perpls, he let the ſalte teares tryll downe by his chekes. But whan they that were preſente vnderſtoode why that he ſhewed ſuche countenaunce, contrary wyſe they reioyced exceedingly, as wel at the wonderfull wyſedome of the yonge emperour, as that the
vertue

bertue and lernynge of Sextilius was in conclusyon so well consydered, callinge Rome a citie most blessed, that Hulde haue suche a Pretor. And withone consent they so pleased on Sextilius with inuincible argumētes, that he accorded to retourne towarde Rome, and to receyue the sayde offyce. Not withstandynge after that he hadde syt a good space without speakynge, he abrayded out at the laste; and complaynyd hym in this wyse.

What myserable astate shall I nowe come to: wherein diligence shall be cause of displeasure, neglygence of reproche, Sharpnesse shall be dreadeful, pytie vnthankfull, familiaritie suspiciouse, frendshyp dangerous, euery mannes countenaunce pleasaunt, many mennes myndes offended, flatterynge openly, dysdaynynge secretelye, agaynste my commynge attendance, in presence moche courtely, beinge out of office or fauour, lacke of acquaintance. But of force I must obey that the emperour commandeth, and yet he comandeth not, but mooste gentylly allureth, wherto my frendes also consenten, & reason determyneth. I therfore commytte all vnto god, who with his prouidence al thyng disposeth.

And soo he departed, and in shorte space arryued at Rome, where with many noble Senatours, and the chiefe of the people he was gladly receiued. Many other wise and wel lerned menne did this noble prince electe, and mooste gentilly inbite vnto the ministracion of the weale publyke, by occasion wherof oppression, extorcion, bribery, and other corruption of iustice, were out of the cite of Rome duringe this emperours lyfe, vtterly exterminate.

CA notable question mented by Julius Pausus Into the Emperour Alexander. And the wise answer made to the same by the same Pausus. Cap. xxxviii.



WE HAVE herde befoze what austeritie and sharpnesse in punishment the Emperour Alexander vsed toward all them, which by any maner corruption gaue vntreue sentences. Semblably agaynst theues, and opprellours of people he was noo lasse rigourouse, punyshynge them sharply and openly, without remission or hope of pardon: touchynge treason he dyd neuer alter or adde any thyng to the punishments which were afore ordeyned: And in conspiracies against his owne persone, he often tymes suspended his sentence or deferred execution, as well to trye out the counsailes and practises of the offendours, as the fyrste occasion of theyr displeasures: also whether theyr natures were obstinate or proude, aspyryng vnto supremacie: or if they were mylde and easy, and seemed to be incended therto by the prouocation of other. and byuerse suche, some he pardoned, and with moste gentyll perswasions not onely reduced them to due obedience, but also bounde theyr hartes to hym in a perfyte allegiaunce, some he caused for a tynie to susteyne imprisonment or exyle, and as he founde them repentant, so dydde he relieue them. In theyr exyle it was punishment of death, to gyue to them any thyng, but meate and drynke, and that but course and of smal quantitie, also to be in their company lenger than they brought them meate, or to speake with them, or to receyue letters of them: so that they lyued alone amonge people, in a prison vncloused,
and

and in a common resoꝛte in moſte paynefull ſoltytude. He had not withſtandynge in thoſe places of exile ſome truſty perſons abydyng, who marked in what ſourme they ſuſteyned that puniſhement, whether they were very repentaunte oꝛ ſturdy, and accoꝛdyng to ſuche mennes intimation, he cauſed the exile to be ſhoꝛter oꝛ lenger. And here aboute he was very curyoꝛuſe and dyligente.

On a tyme Julius Paulus a noble counſaylour, meruaylyng that the emperour was ſo pitiful toward them, whiche offended his perſon, beinge ſo rigoroꝛuſe agaynſte all other tranſgreſſours, he ſpyndynge the emperour at leysoure, ſayde vnto hym in this wiſe: Sir if it ſhall ſtande with your pleaſure, I wolde be fayne ſatiſfied, in a thynge, which cauſeth me to moche wonder at you. Speake on (ſayde the Emperour.) Sye, ſayd Paulus, In al the tyme that I haue ſerued your maieſtie, I haue conſydered, that your proper nature is mylde, facile, gentyll, and wytty, and therewith adourned with incomparable pacyence and conſtance. Wherfoꝛe whanne I beholde you in publyke oꝛ ciuile matters alway ſo bente to the rigour of iuſtice, that ye wyl pardone none execution, the offendour being iuſtly condemned: yet in tranſgreſſions agaynſt your maieſtie, be they neuer ſo greuouſe and leſfully proued, ye often tynes do gyue your moſt gracious pardon, and ſometyme vnasked. And ſome haue I knowne, which haue ben condemned foꝛ commyttynge actes agaynſte theyꝛ allegiaunce, to whom ye not onely remitted your graces diſpleaſure, but alſo receyued them familiarly, and entertayned them with great liberalitie, as **Q**uintus Camillus, who by ſecrete meanes aſpired to the
impe-

imperiall maiestie, whan he was therfore broughe afore the senate all tremblyng, his conscience disclosing his trespase, ye gyuyng to hym thanks, that he wyllyngly wold take on hym the charge of the weale publyke, which other good men refused whan it was profered, and callynge hym copartner of the empire, led hym from the Senate vnto your palayce, and caused hym to sytte with you at supper, in more rycher appa- rayle than ye ware at that tyme, with moche other beneuolence shewed vnto him at your goinge in warres towarde Persia. This thyng maketh me and many other to meruaile. Wherfore the causis which herevnto moueth you, I am mooste desyrouse to knowe, whiche by myne owne wytte I canne not determyne. And many other as wel as I, be therewith perplexed. I therfore mooste humbly besecche your maiestie, that by your owne mouthe it maye be resolved.

The emperour after a lyttell pause, ther vnto answered: Truly Paulus we be nothyng offended with your demaunde, but ar ryght wel contented to declare vnto you and other men of lyke wysedome, the reason and cause that doth meue vs to do any thyng in oure office imperiall, that therby we may exclude all yll suspicion, and approue our beneuolence toward the weale publike. Albeit yf ye had sene as moch of philosophy as ye haue done of the lawes ciuile, ye shuld not haue had nede to haue made this demaunde. But now to your question, ye muste confesse Paulus, that in our person be two states or conditions: one by nature comune with other men, the other by election pryuate & from the people excepted. In the fyyst we be resembled to beaustis, for the affections and passions, wherin we com-

communicate with them. In the other we be lyke vnto goddis immortall, in supreme dignitie excelleng all other men, which is to vs hapned, and not ingenerate, by the prerogatiue of vertue, whiche is supposed to be moze excellent in vs: which vertue is none other thing but disposition, and exterior acte of the mynde agreeable to reason, and the moderation of nature. The supreme dignitie that we haue receyued is onely in gouernance of men, whych do participate with vs in Nature, wherin they alway remayne equall with vs, but by Reason they be made inferior vnto vs. for they supposyng it to be moze habundantly gyuen vs, haue therfoze wyllyngly submitted them selfe vnto our gouernance. And what that gouernance oughte to be, our names of dignitie, whiche the people hath gyuen vs, do expresse it sufficiently. For they gaue to vs first the surnames of Cesar & Augustus, for remembrance of the prowesse of the one, and the wysedome of the other, whych lyke as they despyred, so they trusted to be abundantly in vs. They cal vs also Emperour, whiche dignitie amonge the auncient Romayns consisted in the principall gouernance of hooftes and armies, not onely in leadyng them vnto warres (whiche was also the office of a duke) but also to see them euer well exercised, keepyng alway and in euerye place good order and iustyce. Moreover the senate and people haue gyuen vs a name excelleng al other in honour and dignite, calling vs Father of their countrey. May there be imagyned any name greater or higher? For where ye haue wyslaufe lyberally to consecrate many of our progenitours, and callenge them goddis, haue made them equall one to an other. Onely Jupiter, whom

Habitus
contem
plarius
& practi
cus.

Impera
tor.

Dux.

Pater pas
tria.

Z

Olyphus

Opheus doth call lyfe, you and your progenytours
 haue called father, as it were by a specyall preroga-
 tiue aboue all other, which name is agreable vnto his
 propriete. For of lyfe all thynges haue being and me-
 uynge, whyche acte of creation, or (more naturally to
 speke it) generation, is incident to the name of father.
 lyke as also his office is to preserue and kepe safe that
 which he him selfe hath ingendred. Consydering how
 inestimable an office and dignitie are included in that
 diuine and moste reuerende name of father, makynge
 me therby the mortall ymage of the lyuynge god: howe
 circumspect ought I to be, that I do nothing vnwoz-
 thy that name so lybterallye gyuen me? Ye knowe well
 Paulus, that in mens chyldren be dyuers and sundry
 dispositions, some be apt of their nature to vertue and
 towardnesse, some haue not nature so prompt and be-
 neuolent, wherfore they must be by education ther vn-
 to formed: some be quicke of wytte, some dulle in ca-
 pacitie. of sharpe wyttes, some moste do resplendyshe
 in actes that be honeste, other seme quickest in malyce
 and shrewdnes. The good and diligent father of eue-
 ryche of them is equally carefull, and assayeth fyrste
 by education to make them all confor[m]able vnto his
 appetite. And therfore at the fyrste with swete meates
 and praty gyftes he allureth them all for to loue hym,
 and where they offende (as none or els verie fewe are
 perfyte in vertue) correctyng them with a lytel sharpe
 rodde, he maketh theym also to feare hym. And yf he
 beate a shrewde boy, it is done as well to put other in
 feare to offende, as to make hym amende. And some-
 tyme the father to restrayne the prompte dysposition
 that he seeth in his chyldern to vicious qualites, doth
 abdicat

abdicate nowe and than oone, that is to saye, putteth theym out of his familye, and clerely excludeth theym from any hope of inheritaunce. Somtyme perceyving their shewdnes to ceasse, yf any transgresseth againt hym selfe onely, eyther he correcteth hym moderatly, or by a wyse and gentyl perswasion, assayeth to induce hym to knowe wel his duettie, and to plucke from him opinion of a fals libertie. Nexte vnto god, who is so great a father, as he which is father of a hole countrey: that is to say, father of them that he fathers, their children and family. Howe moche than ought the care of hym, excede farre the cares of all other: the charitie of hym, the loue of all other: the wysedome of hym, the prudence of other: The studious father more careth howe to bynge vp his children in honestie, than howe to lyue pleasantly. The louing father hath more sollicitude aboute his chylderns helth, than about his owne welthe. The wyse father more considereth, what his sonne shall be in the estimation of other men, than howe he maye content his syngular affection. I haue shewed to you the office of a priuate father. What wyl ye nowe say to me, that in offyce am the vniuersall father of all the hole countrey? Wyl ye say, that I shuld haue lasse care, lasse loue, or lasse wysedome and polycie? I suppose no, I knowe therein your opinyon sufficiently. Than take good hede what I saye. The rigour of Iustyce, whiche ye seeme to note in me, in punysshing offenders againt the weale publike, is but a forme of discipline, conuenient and necessary, haupng regarde to suche chyldren as I found in this citie, corrupted with al kyndes of vyce, and hauing their myndes and wyttes all dysposed to foly, whych beinge a

general detriment, I haue vsed therein a moze sharper remedy: and therfore consequently it hath ben founde the moze conuenient and spedy.

In offences touchyng our onely persone, we haue discended in our mynde from the imperypall maiestye, and considered our fyrst astate left vs by nature, wher in lokyng as in a myrrour, we beholde the same matter that other men be of, and therein the sedes of sundry affections. this causeth vs where we fynde hope of amendment, in lamentyng the mysery of mankynde, to be moued with a fatherlye pytie, and moche lasse esteemyng the daungier of our persone onely, than of the hole countrey. We endeuour vs by mercy and gentlynnes, to restore that vnkynde childe, whiche hath offended vs, cōfessiones to his byethern & company. Not with standyng yf he be so malicious and arrogant, that he wyl not ceasse to abuse our pacyence, we than refuse hym to be our chylde, and as an enemye vnto the weale publike (for so be all that intendeth hostilitye agaynst hym, whiche is hecd and father thereof) we commytte hym to the senate and people, for his malyce and treason to be iustely condemned. And thus doinge, we accomplishe all the partes of a father: and keepyng the people in a moderate feare and good order, we execute the offyce of a good emperour.

Thus haue ye Paulus a iust accompt of our mynistracion, I wote not howe it contenteth you, sure I am that myn owne conscience therein was neuer offended, nor the publyke weale greued, nor any good man therby oppressed, wherof I haue the senate and people my wytnesse, and hym onely my iudge, who being in heauen, sayleth not to punishe all them that abuse
his

his ymage.

Wherewith Julius Paulus seemed to be satisfied,
moste humbly thankynge the emperour, and meruat-
lynge at his greatte wysedome and temperaunce, for
that tyme departed.

Of a great exclamation made agaynst a gentill man called Marcus
Geminus by his libertines. And the oration of Junius Moder-
atus, made in the Senate. Cap. xxxviii.



LYKE wyse as this Emperour Alexander
was rigourouse and terrible to corrupt iu-
ges and oppressours of iustice, so was he
moste fauorable and bounteous vnto all
suche as were sincere in their ministrations and sup-
portars of equite. On a tyme as he went to warde the
Senate, there came ageynst hym a greate numbꝛe of
persones, homely apparayled and of a rude presence,
whiche as the Emperour approched them, they felle
down on their knees, and in a moste lamentable foyme
with one confuse cry accusid a gentelman called Mar-
cus Geminus of oppression, & to bying him moze into
displeasure and enuy, they added to their complaynt,
that he was one of them that cōspired with Quinius
Camillus. The Emperour herd them, and diligently
marked their gesture and countenaunce, wherein he
perceyued to be moze rankour than dolour, moze stur-
dynes than humble shamefastnes, moze obstinat cru-
elty, than reason or honesty: He than asked of them,
what people they were. They answered, sayeng: that
they were husbandmen of Campania. He cōmanded
them to withdꝛaw them vntyll they were sent for, and
shewynge to theym a ryght gentyl bysage, he passed

from theym.

The peple receyuyng a moze arrogant courage, of the comfortable countenance, whiche it seemed that the Emperour made to them at their departing, leauing for the whyle their counterfayte sorowes, they spent the dayes in tauernes and vytaylynge houses, the nightes in places of bawdry, promysinge vnto theym selues victoꝝ against Geminus, adding therto with mooste dispitfull arrogance, that his tourmentes and deth shuld be a dreedefull example to gentill men, and that from thensforth the their plough men and tenauntes shuld be felow like with them. Whiche menacis and boystynge were soone after reported vnto the Emperour: But first as sone as he was comme to the Senate, he shewed there al that was hapned, and than he demaunded the Senatoures, if any of theym knew Marcus Geminus. Diuers of theym aunswered in orde, that they knew hym well, and that he hadde ben alway reputed a man of moche honesty, and hauing a competent lyuing for his degree, had euer liued therewith temperately, withoute note of reproche vnto this tyme. Herewith as the Emperour late maruaylynge at the fury of the said clamorous peple, and the commendation gyuen to Marcus Geminus, an auncient Senatour named Junius Moderatus, who was reputed to be a man of greatte woꝝshyp, and was of the age of one hundred yeres, or there aboute, dyd stande vp on his feete, and sayd in this wyse.

The oration
of Junius
Moderatus.

Moste noble Emperour, all be it that I am not requiꝝed, noꝝ do now intende to take on me the defence of Marcus Geminus, with whome I haue no maner acquaintance, yet to thintent that, your most gentill & pitie

pittifull hart tempred with iustyce, shuld be no lengar perplexid, as it apperethe to be by your countenance, I wyl by remembryng your maiesty of the generall state and condition of them, whiche haue commplayned on Marcus Ceminus, in some part (I truste) resolve the importance of your admiration and study.

TYe do well percepuē, that the complayners be al of Campania, a countray most plentecous of all thynges that the erthe may byyng fourthe, and therwith so fertile, that it dothe not require greate toyle or labour, but onely good diligence in obseruing the oportunitie of tyme in soluyng & planting, with the preservation of the thynges whyles they be growing. With this fertilitye, the bodie do become fat and lusty, and therby are made ille disposed to labour, the which disposition the goodnes of the soyle alway supportith: therof procedeth obstinate sturdines agaynst their superiours, and often tymes commotions and sodayn rebellions: and with great difficulty hath that people be brought vnto a perfite obedience, whiche was after that they had rebellid agaynst the Romanes being confederate with Hannibal and the Carthaginensis: At the which tyme they being banquished by Fuluius, many were slayne, the multitude were solde in bondage vnto the Romanes among whome the felde and possessions were at that tyme diuided. it dured a long tyme, that the Romanes being good husbondes them selues, ouerseeing theire tyllage and husbondry, keepynge the Campanes in seruitude, bourdainyng them with continual labours, fedyng and clothynge them moderately, and moze nerer to scarsity, than superfluity, leuynge them no moze vacation from labour than the festiual dayes,

dayes, which the lawes haue appointed: the countrey abode in continuall quietnes, and iustice was there sufficiently ministred, by one onely magistrate, sente vnto them perely out of this city. There dwellid Saccerna, Tremillius, Iulius Atticus, and diuerse other gentilmen, as well in hus bandrye, as in other wyse-dome and policy noble and famouse, withoute exclamations vnto the Senate. Moreouer the gentylmen brought vp in that countrey, for their temperance in liuing, and prudent gouerning of their owne famply, were often tymes electe into the senate, and esteemed alway for the best senatours. But after the subuersion of Carthage, and that al Grece and Asia were in our iurisdiction, Spaine made tributary, & Gallia brought vnder subiection, Idelnesse, with delicate appetite entered to gyther into this citie, and so moche abounded, that it was from thence distributed into al the hole region of Italy. And than the gentilmen of Campania, leste their ancient frugality and diligent gouernance, and dyd sette all their study, onely about thynges pleasant and dilectable, not being contented with the commodities of the same countray, ne with the same measure and quantity, whiche they befoze vsed, but with outragious expenses, sending into other countreys far of, for other kyndes of thynges which they had not growynge, they vnsaciably fed therewith them selues and their seruantes, & contemnyng the exercise of husbandry, they negligently haue suffred their seruantes to be oppressed with gourmandise, and to reiecte their accustomed fare, and to haue it moze delicate. Also to increase slepe and pastime, and to minishe their labours and diligence. Moreouer by pryuate contentions amonge

monge the same gentylmenne (whiche alway hapneth where temperance lacketh) by ambition and enuy, they that were bondemen were enfranchised and made libertynes, to the intent that their lordes wolde be sene pu-
 issant of men, to maynteyn their quarrelles: wherby it is hapned that the progeny of the sayde bondmen are now of suche sturdines, that they disdayne and take scoyne to be corrected, ne wyll otherwyle labour than it shall lyke them. And if their lordes wyll sharply call on them, they wyll not let, boldly to make resistance: and where they be not therto suffycient, they wyl suboigne some false quarrell to make a comotion, trusting therby to robbe and destroy their lordes: or if they can not byrnyng that to passe, at the leste they wyll make iniuste exclamations, where they fynde a prynce, whome they suppose to haue his eares open to tales & reportis, & wyll condemne in his opynion men complayned on, before pchance that he knoweth them. Herof haue we to many examples, as well in the tyme of Cyberius, Nero, and Domitiane, as in the tyme of my remembrance. Were not Dullius Sillanus, and Antius Lupus, men of great honesty, condemned to dethe by the Emperour Comodus, vpon the false complayntes of their lybertines: whiche grutched agaynst them, bycause that Sillanus was a sterne man, and of the ancient seueritie. wherfore they moughte not susteyne hym, punysshynge them continually for their ydell and tyottous lyuynge. Lupus bycause he wold not suffer his lybertines to inctroche vpon his possessions, and to retayn certayn portions of lande, which after the dethe of Petilius Rufus his mothers vnkle (whose heyre Lupus was) they had taken by stelthe, whiles he was

*Liberlines
were of
spke con-
ditions, as
our coppe
holders
were of
ofde tyme.*

Ala in

in Asia, wherfore they appeched hym vnto the emperoz, sayeng that he was of familiar counsaile with Caius Regilius, whom a lyttell before, Commodus had put vnto deathe. Petronius in the tyme of Caracalla the emperour, was also put vnto dethe by a lyke occasion. And to speake of myne owne experience, by the space of. xl. yeres, so longe I continued in keepynge of husbandy in the countrey of Umbria, hauing therein moche delectation, I found the rustical people my neyghbours prompte to iniuries, murmurynge at Iustyce, grutchyng at labours, despyous of pleasures, ingrate agaynst benefytes. At the fyrst I was with them famylar and homely, than founde I them alway carlyshe and sturdy, than agaynst myn owne nature I chaunged my cōpy, and became towarde them moze strange in countenance, moze rare in speakynge, moze selde in pardonynge, moze quicke in reuengynge suche iniuries as they wylllyngely dyd me. Whoeuer I was moze frequent in commandyng my lybertines, & wold my selfe se them to do truely their seruices, nothyng onmyttinge: than had I lyttell and seldome any occasion to be offended with. There was none iniuries offered me of my neyghbours, whiche beholdynge me so sharpe to my lybertines, and so rygorous in Iustyce, feared to dysplease me. My lybertines forgettynge all pleasures, studyed with labour and dylgēce to gette some prayse of me. Than consydered I wel, that good dettours oftentymes spared, become yll payers, small iniuries oftentymes pardoned, maketh of neyghbours pernycious enemyes. A seruaunt made malapert, wyllycke at his duetie, and labour by custome becometh easie, behold, that gentyl maisters haue alway proude seruantes,

seruantes. And of a mayster sturdy and fierce, a lyttell
wynke to his seruant is a fearefull commaundement.
The nature of libertines is moch contrariouse to that
whiche is gentyll. The gentylman, gentlyly intreated
is contente to do all thyng: The vyle nature, famp-
lyarly bled, grudgeth at euery thyng. This is euerye
day proued, but no witte can make streight which na-
ture made croked. Geminus is a gentylman of an old
house of the latines, whose great graundefather Ru-
bellius Geminus was consul in the late dayes of the
emperour Tiberius. He hath his possessions in Cam-
pania (as I haue herde say) by an auncetour of his
mother called Pomponius Sura. Perchance his no-
ueltie there may be disdayned, and the moueable pro-
ple lackyng somewhat of their wylles, may be comfoz-
ted by some of equall degree vnto Geminus, by their
exclamations to byynge hym out of credence, and con-
sequently vnto some icoperdy. Wherfore serueth the
Dyeto? Triphonius, who is knowen to be a man very
discrete, well lerned, and of a great iudgement? if they
came to hym, why dyd he not here them? If he wolde
not here them, why complayne they not of hym? If he
dyd here them, why is Geminus left styl unpunished?
If he be punyshed, why is he estones accused? My
aduyse is mooste noble Emperour, that Marcus Ge-
minus be hastily sent for, that he haue no leysure to so-
licite the Dyeto? Triphonius: and that immediately
afterward a letter be directed to the same Dyeto?, wyl-
lyng him to aduertise your maiesty with al expedition,
what may be proued in the ratification of suche arty-
cles as bene objected in the accusation of Geminus:
whiche proues beinge sente by vnto vs, yf Geminus

can not refell them, than let the lawes of the citie procede agaynst hym. If the suggestion be founde false and malicious, than shall your maiestie do lyke a vertuous gouernour, and father of the countreye, yf by your excellent wysedom and rule of iustice, ye proude that the fals accusers and their abbettours may be so punyshed, that they and other persons of lyke inclination, may be aferde to abuse your clemency and moste gentyll nature. And nowe hathe your maiestie herde all myne opinion.

This sentence contented the Emperour, who therfore comended the substancial wysedome & compendious eloquence of the old Moderatus. And accordyng therunto was Geminus sent for by an officer, and sone after a letter was sente to Triphonius, accordyng to the minute before reherced: which was deliuered to the Pretor incontinent vpon the departing of Geminus.

The wonderfull prudence and equille shewed by Alexander the Emperour, in the determination and sentence in the matter precedednge. Cap. xxxix.



AT THE comynge of Geminus to Rome, he was forthwith committed vnto Caelius the Senatour to be secretely kepte, with comforte gyuen vnto hym, that yf such thynges as he was accused of, could not be proued by wytnesse or matter sufficient, his accusation shulde be to hym an happye displeasure.

In the meane tyme Triphonius the Pretor, whan he had radde the emperours letters, fearynge his rygorous iustyce to rulers and iudges corrupted or negligent, he forthwith sent vnto the moste honest inhabitant:

bi tauntes, not beinge gentplmen, whychē dwelled in to wnes and villages next adioynng to the habitati-
on of Geminus : whom not beinge yet ware of the de-
partynge of Geminus, noꝝ foꝝ what cause they were
sent foꝝ, the Pretor callng vnto hym one of them af-
ter an other, he seuerally examyned theym, what they
knew oꝝ supposed of Marcus Geminus, in what con-
dicion he vlsed hym selfe, fyste concernynge his fayth
to thempour senate and people of Rome, also in Ju-
stice and equitie touchng his neighbours, moꝝeouer
frugalitie and temperance in his owne family, finally
in oppression and crueltie to his tenauntes and lyber-
tines. Addyng ther vnto, that the emperours maiesty
was informed, that Geminus in all the sayde poyntes
was greivously noted, whiche beinge sufficiently pro-
ued agaynst hym, his punishment shulde be to all o-
ther men a dyedfull example, wherby pooꝝe men shuld
afterwarde lyue in the moꝝe suretie, & out of the dan-
ger of cruell affections. Euery one that was examy-
ned apatte, frely without alteration of woꝝdes, affir-
med, that Geminus was a mā of great honesty, & that
they dyd neuer suspect his faith of allegiaſce, although
he repaired sometyme to Oninius, whan he soioyned
nigh to him, which he scined rather to do foꝝ the hono-
ring of Oninius dignity, thā foꝝ any special affection
that he had towarde hym, considering that they were
most vnlike of conditions. Foꝝ Oninius was proude,
ambiciouse, and prodigall : Geminus was gentll,
moderate in liuyng, and temperate in spendyng. The
other was almoste ignorant of lettres, delyting in ri-
ote and lechery: this man well lerned, and hauing his
pꝛincipall pleasure in redyng oꝝ wrytyng. So diuerse

conditions coulde neuer ioyne hartes in a feruent affection. Moreover they coulde neuer perceyue, that Geminus at any tyme preyed Oninius, otherwyle than is the general prayse gyuen to men in authority, calling hym honozable. Concerning iustyce and equitye, they sayd that therein he was euer founde notably earneste, in soo moche as by keepynge his promise and touch, he susteyned often tymes no litle detriment. Also he remitted oftentimes a good parte of his ducty, which the lawes gaue hym, sometyne of gentylnesse, sometyne meuid with the persons necessity. The measurable fare and good orde of his family, was to all his neyghbours an excellent patern. To his tenants & libertines at his first comynge he was of moch affabilitie. but after that he had perceyued by the auncient tables and minumetes belonging vnto his patrimony, that his libertines had withdrawen some parte of their seruices, and craftily entrelaced his dominical landes with their seruilc possessions, he first assaid to perswade them to restore vnto hym his inheritance, offering to remytte vnto them their wrongfull intrusions, with all the profites which they had therof receyued, if they wold willingly depart from that which by iustice they mought not kepe from hym: but they litle regarding his honest requeste, obstinately denyed to leue the possession of those landes, whiche they had so long occupied, and became in all their actes towarde hym stourdy and malapert, wherwith being displeasantly meued, he with his household seruantes & frendes expelled them from the possession of suche landes as they wrongfully occupied: wherewith they beinge exasperate, and desirous to be reuenged (supposynge that

that if they complained to the p̄etoz, the truth shortly appering vnto hym, they shuld no thing preuaile, but be foꝛ euer excluded from their vniuste occupation) they conspiring to gyther went vnto two gentilmē dwellynge hercby, the one called Diullius, the other Cotta, who alway had enuy at Marcus Geminus, & mought not susteine his commendation, but vsed to speke reprochfully of hym. Whan they had herd what the libertines purposed, they exceedingly reioyced therat, and gaue to them not onely comfort in their proceedings, but also summes of money toward their charges, with secrete lettres vnto their frendes and acquaintaunce in the city of Rome, desiring them to assist and solycite the cause of the libertines. They said mozeouer, that there remained yet in the towne of Geminus, as well libertines as menne free of condition, his tenauntes, whiche beyng of a moze honest nature, and perswaded at the first with the reasonable request of their loꝛd, wold by no meanes consent vnto the conspiracy, not withstandinge that they were there vnto pleased as wel by the sayd gentillmen as by the libertines. Which persons they thought expedient to be also examined. That hering the P̄etoz, commending their truthe and modesty, he depeched those deponentes foꝛ that tyme, commaunding them to kepe al thing secrete, and immediatly he sent foꝛ the sayd residue of the tenantes and libertines of Marcus Geminus, who beyng lyke wyse examined, in al and euery thing agreed with the firste witnesses. Than Triphonius incontinent caused houses to be pꝛouided, and those persones without any lenger abode, to be conueyed to Rome with his lettres vnto the Emperoure, contem-
nyng

nyng the true report of the sayde examinations. Whiche letters the Emperour readyng hym selfe, commaunded that those men, whiche were comine to the citie, shulde be forthwith brought to his presence, in moste secrete wyse, which was perfourmed. Than the Emperour calling to hym Alpianus, Catelius, Paulus, and Sabinus, who at that tyme were in the paylce, he commaunded the sayde persons to be brought forth, and hym selfe demaunding lyke questions of them, as Triphonius had done, but in another order and facion, he found their wordes in euery condition, lyke as they had deposed, sauinge that they therunto added, that the complayners befoze their departyng, and after that they were comine from Duillius and Cotta, had importunately desired these menne to goe with them, saieng, that they nothing doubted, but that Geminus at the leste shuld lose his hed, and that they for their trauelles shulde haue his goodes, or a good parte thereof deuided among them: and that Duillius and Cotta trusted to haue his landes by gyfte or by purchase. That hering the Emperour, with bysage inflamed, and eyes sparkelyng as fyre, braste out in these wordes folowynge.

Co villayne nature bestiall and monstreuouse. Cruell enuy foule and malitiously, the one neuer vanquished with gentilnes, the other neuer contented with vertue and sobrenes. How often haue wyse men ben by suche falsshode deluded, Emperoures, kynges, and other potentates by such serpentis abused, iustice oppressed, mercy skaundered, good people destroyed, false harlottes aduanced? God forbide that I shuld lyue Emperour of Rome, if I wolde not see this enormitie

mytpe puniſſhed, whereby all publike weales may be ſhortly ſubuerthed. for where order fayleth, obedience decayeth, boldenes increaſeth, deſceit eſkapeth, inturp preyaylethe, auarice corrupteth, the ſtate of a weale publyke ſone after periſheth. whan he had ſayd thus: he comending the truth and ſinceritie of them, which had ſpoken, communded that they ſhulde remayne ſtil in his palayce in a place ſecrete, vntyl it were his pleaſure for to call for them. Than cauſed he to be publiſhed throughout the cite, that Marcus Geminus was likely ſhortly to be condemned. which being commended to the eares of his accuſers, they replenished with ioy, romed aboute the citie, imbracing their frendes and confederates, with mutuall congratulations, making bankettes one to another, for exceding ioye forgetting to ſleepe, but paſſed forth the nyghtes in drinkyng and ſyngyng, and deuilyng tourmentes for Marcus Geminus. Of all this herde the Emperour, who diſſembled his angre, albeit he had no laſſe ſolicitude, in prouiding the meanes how they miſchiefe and falſhode mought be in ſuche wyſe corrected, as good menne mought be free from ſuche perilles, and the example mought vtterly drowne the malice of wretches. As ſone as Duilius and Cotta had herde of the byrte of the condemnation of Geminus, with all ſpede they bothe came vnto Rome, byrnyng with theym greate preſentes to gyue vnto ſuch as were nyghe about the Emperoure, to thintente that they by their meanes mought attayne to the poſſeſſions of Geminus. But theſe noble men, vnto whome they offered to gyue the ſaid preſentes, reſuſed to take them, fearyng the Emperours ſeuerity. As ſone as the Emperoure had herd

of the commynge of Duillius and Cotta, he sente for them, and in the pſence of dyuers Senatours, after that he had taken them by the handes, with a familiar countenaunce, he diſſembled to them, that he was moche grieved with the unkyndeneſſe of Geminus, toward his perſone, and alſo his oppreſſions and iniuries toward his libertines and tenants. With that Duillius and Cotta being moche comforted toward their purpoſe, to aggrauate the complayntes agaynſt Geminus, and ſeming to do well, diſprayed the rigorous tyrany of Geminus, and commended the ſimpli-
citie of his libertines, ſayenge, that they wolde not ſo ſoone haue complayned on Geminus, yf they had not ben by them vehemently ſtyred and prouoked therto.

¶ After that the emperour had ben a while in a ſtudy, as it were to ſay ſome thyng agaynſt Geminus, at the laſt with a familiar viſage, he ſayde vnto theym: Ye haue knowen in how moch deteſtation I haue alway had the oppreſſion of innocentes, the iniuries doone with extreme malyce and violence: And yet not withſtandynge the ſharpe corrections, whiche haue ben executed agaynſt ſuche malefactours, as well by ancient lawes of this citie as by our owne decrees and ordynauces, yet as it ſemeth that peſtylence in the weale publyke ceaſſeth not. Wherfoze we nowe wolde, that ſome newe and ſtraunge correction were deuysed for Geminus, whiche ſhulde be ſuche as to al men of euery degree, it mought be the mooste fearefull example to offende in lyke condicion. And as touchynge the offence toward me, I ſhall holde me contente with the iugement, whiche the lawes haue prouided. And mozeouer, to thintent that men ſhall perceyue, howe moche
we

We fauour them that do suppozte trewe men agaynst tyrantes, I wolde that some rewarde were also deuysed for suche supporters, equall and convenient vnto their merites. And herein wyll we fyyst here your sentences, for as moche as ye do seme to be men of zeale, and are repozted to be wyse men and polytike aboute your affaires. Wherfoze we intend to haue of you better acquayntance, that the publike weale by you may be amended.

¶ These wordes of the Emperour, Duillius & Cotta toke to be all for their benefyte, and thynking that they had good oportunitie, offred them to achueue their desyre, thynkyng that the moze sharpe and vchement punysshement they dyd deuylse for Marcus Geminus, the better it shuld content the mynde of the emperour. Fyyst Duillius forgettyng hym selfe, with face all inflamed with malice, declarid his sentence in this wise. Forasmoch as the Emperour had referred the offence committed agaynst his maiestie, to the iudgement of the lawes ciuile, (albeit that suche punysshement were insufficient for such a traitour as Geminus was) concernynge his oppression of innocentes, his correction mought be no lasse than that he being al naked, shuld by his lybertines be fyyst of all whipped thzoughoute the cite of Rome with whyppes full of ruelles called Scorpions, and afterward his nose & eares being cut of, so with reproches to be conuayde vnto the towne of his habitation, and there to be estesones whyppped by all his lybertines: and from thens to be carped into the Isles called Hebrides, and neuer to retourne into Italze: his chylderne also to be banysshed for euer out of that territoyp: restitution also to be made to the

lybertines of al that whiche was bereft them. As con-
 cernyng the resydue, they which were accusers of trai-
 tours and supporters of the same accusers, shuld haue
 diuided among them, the one halfe deale of their goo-
 des and possessions: so that the one halfe therof shuld
 be to the accusers, the other halfe to the supporters of
 them, the other halfe deale of the hole shulde be confi-
 scate to the emperours treasure. Cotta agreed in eue-
 ry thyng with Duillius, sayunge the defoymyng of
 Geminus and banysment of his children, sayenge,
 that therin was to greatte a visage of crueltie. In the
 disposition of the goodes and possessions, he added vn-
 to the sentence of Duillius, that if the accuser oꝝ sup-
 porter were a bondman oꝝ libertine, he shulde haue no
 parte of the possessions, but onely the fourthe parte of
 the mouables, in the residue he agreid with Duillius.
 Whan they had spoken, the emperour and other that
 were with hym, seemed to commende their zelous affe-
 ction, and the emperour fyndyng occasion by the lack
 of tyme, and that his supper abode than foꝝ hym, dyd
 depart from them, sayinge that he wolde aduise hym
 on their wyse counsailes, and lycenced them to depart
 with a familiar becke. Who being retourned to theyꝝ
 lodgynges, and sendyng foꝝ the lybertines and other
 of their acquayntaunce: after that they had declared
 what they had spoken, and how nigh the confusion of
 Geminus dyd appoche, and what truste they had to
 enioye his goodes and possessions, there was made a-
 monge theym ioye without measure, with reuelle and
 bankettyng, so that the repoyte therof came to the ea-
 res of the emperour, and of al the Senate, whiche re-
 mayned in a great expectation of the emperours iuge-
 ment.

ment. Afterwarde the emperour commanded his place of astate to be made redy in the Theatre of Dompey, and that the people of Rome shulde be summoned to be redy there the thirde day folowing. whiche was accomplished. And the emperour being set with his noble counsaylozs with him, he commanded that as wel the libertines, as Duillius and Cotta shulde prepare theym to the accusation of Geminus, who came into the place, byngynge with them one Rutilius Lupus a subtylle Rhetorician, to be theyr aduocate. But Geminus onely trustyng on his owne conscience, refused to haue any other patrone, than the true examination and iustyce of the emperour and other, whyche were his iudges. And the Emperour was therewith ryghte well contented, consyderyng that the tyme of the con- trouersye shulde be made therby the shorter.

¶ First Lupus began his oration with a great praise of the Emperours vertues, whiche the Emperour in no wyse sustaynyng, but being therewith offended, interpellid Lupus, and commanded hym to enter into his narration, and to declare immediately the state of the matter conteyned in the complaynte of the lybertines. Than Lupus being partly abashed, for as moch as his begynning was to make thempersoz & herers beneuolent toward the libertines, & to make the cause agaynst Geminus to seme moze greuous, he coldly entered into the matter, & generally obiectid ageinst Marcus Geminus his familiar resoꝛt vnto Onnius Camillus befoze that he was detected of treson. And ther vnto he brought in for witnessis Duilli⁹ & Cotta, who he callid men of gret worship, Geminus speaking yet nothing, noꝛ changinge his countenance. Duillius &

Cotta by to moch malice & couetyse, forgettyng them selues, preased furth, and sayd, that they had oftentimes sene Geminus not only at souper with Onini⁹ in the tyme of his conspiracy, but also talking familiarly & secretly with him. Therwith theemperour taking occasion, demâded of them, what it was that Geminus spake to Oninius. They sayd, they wylt not. for they stode farre from theym, and mought not here theym. The Emperour demaunded, if they dyd se whan Geminus came and departed. They aunswered, that for the moze part they came befoze hym, and abode longe after hym. He asked moze ouer, in what fourme Geminus departed from Oninius. They sayde, for the moze parte with no pleasunt countenance of the one oz the other. The Emperoure asked, if Geminus were desired by Oninius to come, oz if he came to hym vn-sent for. They sayd, they could not remember, but that Oninius sent alway a seruaunt for Geminus. The Emperour demaunded, if he dyd likewyse with them. They aunswered, no. The Emperour immediately sent for Oninius, who being reconfiled to the Emperoure, was than in the Senate, and for Carnilius his seruaunt, who had detected his treason : and in the meane tyme the Emperour turned hym vnto Geminus and sayd, that if he were the man, that he shewed to be, he wolde lasse esteeme deeth than the losse of hys credence, and that for his parte he moze esteemed the confession of truthe, than the auenging of his displeasure. Wherefoze he charged hym vppon the faythe of an honest man, to tell playnely, whereof was the communication betwene hym and Oninius. Geminus answered, that the first accesse that he had to hym
was

was voluntary and vnsent for, onely to salute hym, bycause he was a Senatour, and in greate estimati- on, not knowing any thyng of his trayterouse affec- tion: But perceiuing his qualities, and natural appe- tites not to be agreable to his opinion and study, he celled to come, vntil he was desired of Oninius, which as he after perceyued, was for his incommoditie. For Oninius desired of hym a mantion place, whiche he had ioyning to the gardeins of Nero, from the which he wold in no wise departe. All be it often and sundry tymes Oninius sent for hym, and as well by offrynge greate summes of money and frendship, as sometime by menaces, he assayed to gette of hym the house. but last of all he thretned hym, that haupnge all thyng at commaundment, as he doubted not but that he shuld see it comme to passe shortly, he wolde leaue hym nei- ther house nor life. With the which wordes Seminus sayde, that he was astonied, and so departed with his displeasure. But yet not thinkinge, that Oninius in- tended any conspiracy, considering that he was alied vnto the Emperour, and was by hym aduaunced vn- to greate riches. Thus ceased Seminus to speake any moze. And by that tyme Carnilius was comen, who boyng demaunded, what acquayntance he hadde knowen to be betwene Oninius and Marcus Semi- nus: he aunswered, that he knew none acquaintance betwene them, but that often tymes he had herde Oninius his mayster saye to his secrete frendes, after that he had a longe tyme talked with Seminus, that he was a sturdy and obstinate persone, and wold not confourme hym to his requestes, concernyng a house which he had nygh to the cyty, wherfoze if he mought bynge

byrnge his purposes to passe, he wolde leaue hym net-
 ther house nor heed on his shoulders. The Emperour
 demaunded, yf Geminus were any of them that Oni-
 nius counsailed with concerning his cōspiracy. Ther-
 at smilid Carnilius and said, that Oninius neuer had
 hym in so moch reputation, for he euer esteemed him to
 be moste vnapt to any suche practyse. Than came in
 Oninius, and the Emperour commaundynge hym,
 sate downe by hym: And the Emperour asked hym if he
 knewe Marcus Geminus. And he fearynge that he
 had complayned of hym, blusshed, and sayde, that he
 coulde neuer fynde kyndnesse in hym, and that his na-
 ture was ouerthwart and alway agaynst his desires.
 Wherfoze he desyred the Emperour not to gyue to mo-
 che credence vnto hym in such thinges as he complai-
 ned of hym, other than touchyng the request made for
 his house in the citie, whiche he confessed to haue desi-
 red importunately, and for that cause onely had often
 tymes conuented him whā he repaired into that coun-
 tray. The Emperour with that answer was wel con-
 tented, and demanded, if he had any better opinion of
 Duillius and Cotta. He sayde, that they were of a no-
 ther sorte, and moze confourmable vnto his appetite.
 Therat the Emperour laughed in his hart (as he after
 declared vnto his familyars) markynge the folpe as
 wel of Duillius and Cotta, as of Oninius Camillus,
 whiche vnwares had disclosed their secrete affections,
 and declared the innocēcy of Marcus Geminus. And
 lycencyng Oninius to returne to the Senate, he com-
 manded Lupus to resoꝛt to the resydue of the accusa-
 tion of Geminus: who partly beinge discoꝛaged, with
 a weake eloquence alledged the iniurie and cruell op-
 pression

pression of Geminus, extended vnto his tenants, taking from them their auncient possessions, and annexinge them to his dominycall landes. Therwith Geminus being somewhat meued, playnly denyed that it was their auncient possessiōs, but affirmed that it were his proper dominical landes, which betwene the death of his vnkle and his entrie, they had vniustly vsurped and falsely concelyd. Wherfore not only he by the law mought iustly expulse them from that which they vnlesfully occupied, but also by their ingratitude they had forfeited their manumissions, and consequently the landes gyuen to them by his auncetours of good ryght ought to resorte eftsones to his possession. This heyring the emperour, he demaunded of the complaynantes of what state and condicion they were? They all confessed, to be the lybertines of Marcus Geminus, and that suche landes as they had, were seruile. as for the whiche they were bounden to certayn obseruances. But they plainly denied, that they had forfeited any thyng, and with great exclamations, and out of order cryed out on Geminus. Than commaunded the emperour, that the gentilmen and residue of the lybertines and tenants, sent by Triphoniū, shulde be bzought in, who being in likewise examined, declared openly the stealyng of Geminus dominicall landes, by the sayd lybertines, whiche were accusers, the confutation of them to the destruction of Geminus, their priuate sollicitation of other, the malicious suppoztynge of Duillius and Cotta, with their secrete confederacies, and all other thynges as befoze they had shewed to the Emperour at home in his palaice: which aswel the accusers as Duillius and Cotta heyring dysclosed

contrary to their expectations, they all were confounded, & in theyr amased countenance sodein and silence, semed to the emperour and al that were p̄sēt, to confesse their vnturthe and malycce. And therewith Cotta fearyng the emperours seueritie, fel on his knees, and besought the emperour to pardon hym, and lykewyse desyred Geminus to forgyue hym his malycce, confes- syng all to be trewe, whiche was now spoken on his behalfe. Herewith the emperour was feruently styed with displeasure towarde the accusers: after that he had spoken with the resydue of the iuges, he gaue sentence in this wyse.

For as moche as it appiereth vnto vs, that thou Marcus Geminus art innocent of that treason, whiche thy cruel libertines, with the suppozation of Du- illius and Cotta haue falsly accused the of, we declare the to be a true gentylman, loyall to the weale publike and maiesty imperiall, and denounce vnto all menne, that none be so hardy to renew this suspicion, wherof thou artc purged. And for thy pacience, wysedom, and temperance, we deeme the worthy to be admittid into the college of Senatours. Than the emperour tournyng hym to the lybertines sayd: Ye byllayn generation, full of pestyferous malycce, rude and most bestial of nature, boyde of all courtesy, false and deceyptfull towarde your soucrayne, cruel and vengeable against iustyce and raison: For as moche as ye with all your wyl and puissance hatie induozed your selves by your fals accusation, not onely to haue brought to a shamefull deathe Marcus Geminus your naturall lord, a true and innocent gentylman, and a necessarye mem- b̄re of the wele publyke, which if it had hapned, therof
 should

shulde haue succeeded vnto the weale publike, notable damage, & to our person perpetual reproche, & burden vnto our conscience: we therfore iuge you al worthy no lesse to suffre thā Duillius one of your captayns gaue in his sentence at home in our palayce agaynst Marcus Geminus. that fyrste ye shalbe whypped thorough- out the citie with Scozpions, and than your noses & eares to be cut of, and so to be broughthe into Campania, and there to be esiones whipped in euery towne, and last of al, to be hanged in chaynes on high gybetes, as ye be. xvi. in numbꝛe, in. xvi. of the grettest townes of that countrey, and that your chyldezen shall lose the priuilege of the manumissio of you and your ancestours: and that none of your bloud be from henceforth manumised by any Consul or Pretor. Moreover all your possessions holly to remayne to Marcus Geminus, your moueables by the consente of Geminus, (whervnto we exhort hym) to be equally diuyded and gyuen to his other tenants and lybertines, which refused to be consentynge or party to your procedynge. ¶ Then looked he on Duillius and Cotta, and firste sayd to Duillius: Thou detestable serpente of villain progeny, which nature in the, neither mought be subdued with authoritie, nor altered with riches, for as moche as by enuy onely thou hast maligned ageynste Marcus Geminus, and with all thy power hast supported his libertines, to accuse hym mooste falsely of trespas: & moze ouer thy selfe hast in such wise appeched hym, that in thine owne wordes it appereth that thou were of a moze familiat resorte vnto Quinius than Geminus was, and by Quinius confession moze con- formable vnto his appetyte, and what is declared by

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those

those wordes, but thou and Cotta were consentynge vnto the conspyracy: Thou shalt therefore receyue thine owne iugement, which thou woldest haue gyuen on Marcus Geminus, that is to saye, thou shalt be disgraced of al honour, and despoiled of thy garmentes in the myddel of this cyty: And from thence whipped with scorpions vnto the hygh way called Via Appia, and from thence thou shalt be caried vnto Tarentum, and being there cysones whipped, thou shalt be rendred with thy chyldren in seruytude to Marcus Geminus. And al thy possessions to remayne for euer to hym and his heires. And as to the Cotta, although that thou haste desyred pardon, yet for as moche as thou haste polluted the noble and aunciente bloude, wherof thou camest, imbracing villayne condicions, and chosinge rather to be confederate with villayns and maliciouse wretches, than to fauour vertue and iustyce, it were not expedient that thou shouldest be so pardoned, that thou shouldest clerely escape without punishment, specially considering, that thy nobility was a cause that Geminus was moche moze suspected, than if thou haddest not ioyned thy selfe with his libertines. Thou shalt therfore susteine parte of thine owne iugement, whiche thou woldest haue gyuen on Geminus, that is to say, thou shalt forthwith lose all thy moueables, whiche also with the goodes of Duilius shalbe equally parted, the one halfe to be brought in to the commune treasoire, the other halfe to be gyuen indifferently amonge those gentylmenne, whiche honestly haue declared vnto vs the innocency of Marcus Geminus. And as for thy landes, durynge thy life to be confiscate, afterwarde to retourne to thynne heyres,

res. Moreover that thou thy selfe shalt neuer retozne in to Campana, but remaine styll here in this cite, excepte we vppon other considerations hereafter meuinge vs, shall clerely pardon the.

This was the ende of the Emperours sentence. wherewith all the people reioyced and cried with one voyce: happy is Rome, that hath such a gouernour, happy is the world, that it hath, such an emperour, but mooste happy be we that haue such a father. Lyue noble Alexander, for the goddes do fauour the, all princes do the honour the, all ille menne do dreade the, all good men loue the. Liue and prosper mooste excellent Emperour.

With these and other mooste ioyouse acclamations, the emperour issued out of the Theatre and departed towarde his palayce, hauing with hym Marcus Seminus, all the streetes beinge full of men women and childzen, casting before hym innumerable roses and other sweete floures. The nexte daye was the Emperours iudgement putte in executyon, and Seminus admitted in to the Senate. This was the laste iugemente that the Emperour gaue openlye in his owne person, diuerse other iugemētes he gaue, which were in tables accoꝝding as other Emperours vsed to do.

THITHERTO is the reporte of Eucolpius: moche more he wꝛate, as it semed. for diuerse quaryes lacked in the booke. wherfore to make some perfecte conclusion, I toke the residue out of other, which wꝛate also the lyfe of this Emperour.



HERODIANVS a greeke authoure, writeth, that the iourney made agaynste Artaxerxes the kynge of Persia, was losse through the slaknes of Alexander, whome he supposeth to be retayned from his enterpryse by his mother Hammea, who wold not lette her sonne leoparde his persone ageynst the Persians: but Lampyridius, who gathered his worke out of the bookes of Accolius and Eucolpius, who were alway in company with the Emperour Alexander, wytteth in this wyse: He being such an Emperour in his house and abrode, he entrepysed the iourneys of Parthia, wherunto he prepared all thingis with such discipline and reuerence about his owne person, that it mought be sayde, that Senatours went and not souldiours. Where so euer the host was, the chiefe captaynes were circumspecte, the captaynes honest, the souldiours beloued. And therfore the inhabytauntes of countreyes receyued hym as god. The menne of warre loued the yong emperour as their brother, their sonne, and their father. They were honestly cladde, conueniently horsed and shodde, richely armed, very welles horsed with harnesse & byddels accordingly trymmed, that he whiche behelde the emperours army, shulde haue perceyued the state of the weale publike. He hym self labored to be iudged worthe to haue the name of Alexander, and to surmount hym of Macedone. In suche fourme he went into Persia, and vāquished king Artaxerxes, who came agaynst hym with seuen hundred elephants, bearyng on their backs towres of woode full of archers and artillery. Also a thousand and fyue hundred chariottes armed with sythes, and people innumerable

merable. And afterwarde Alexander retourned vnto the citie of Antiochia, and with the praye that he toke of the Persians, he made all his men of warre ryche. Than fyrste began Persyans to be slaues to the Romaynes. But bycause that the kyniges of Persia doo dysdayne, that any of their people shall lyue in seruitude, he was content, that they shulde be redemed, the money beinge gyuen to them whiche toke them prisoners, beinge retourned to Rome, was conuayde vnto his palayce with all the senatours gentylmen & people, the wyues and chyliden of his souldiours enuyconyng hym, and his triumphall charpot folowynge hym, beinge drawen with foure great elephantes. And entrynge into his palaice, he was lyft bp with the handes of the people, so that durynge the space of foure houres he mought not walke on his fete, al the people crienge aboute, Nowe is Rome saufe, for Alexander is safely returned.

¶ Afterward he lyued in moste tender loue of the people and Senate, but at the laste the Germaynes wassing and destroyeng the countray, he beinge ashamed that the Parthians now beinge vanquysht, that nation sholde prease so nygh to the hed of the weale publike, which people were subdued by petite imperours, he prepared his boyage towarde them, and departed agaynst all mennes wylles, euery man bypyngynge hym a hundred and fifty myles on his waye, with hope of victorie, and sone returne to the ctyt. but being in France, and fyndyng the legions sediciouse, he comâded them to be reiecte. By which occasion the frenche mennes stomakes, as they be alway obstinate and froward, and oftentymes displeasaut vnto the Emperours

perours, wolde not suffre any longer his tygrouse grauity. Wherfoze certayn souldiozs, which were enriched by Heliogabalus, by the comfozte and ayde of that monstrouse mulettour Maximus, whome they made afterwarde Emperour, they sodeynly entrynge into the pauillion of Alexander, slewe bothe hym and his mother, he nothing fearing their malice. Other opinions there be of his dethe. Finally the rage of vnchristy persons, which mought not sustayne his excellent vertues, traiterously slewe this most noble Emperour: whose deth all Rome lamented, al good men bewayled, all the worlde repented, whom the Senate deified, noble fame renoumed, al wyle men honoured, noble wryters commended. Whose lyfe maye worthily be a paterne to knyghtes, an example to iudges, a myrtour to prynces, a beautifull ymage to all theym that are lyke to be gouernours: whereby they may haue in continuall remembraunce, to unbrace and followe his moste excellent qualities.

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● LONDINI ●

IN OFFICINA Thomæ Bertheleti
typis impress.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.

● ANNO. M.D. XL. ●



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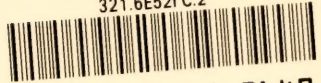




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